Daily Report

East Europe

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Protests Continue; New Developments Reported

'Hooligans' Demonstrate in Shkoder

AU1312193790 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Unattributed report: "Vandalist Acts in the City of Shkoder"]

[Text] As our ATA correspondent reports, an event occurred in the city of Shkoder today which has caused concern and deep indignation among the city's population. A group of hooligans without any political aims committed serious acts of violence and destruction. They first threw stones and whatever they could at the buildings of the District Party Committee and the District Executive Committee, which are situated next door to each other. They also entered and committed acts of vandalism in the building of Radio Shkoder. Despite the police's cool-headedness, these elements wounded the district police chief, another officer and a policeman with knives and iron bars.

To oppose these acts, citizens of Shkoder, workers, communists, and other working people took to the streets. Nevertheless, the hooligans did not cease their behavior. To reimpose order and calm in the city and to defend government and social institutions, the forces of public order and the Army came into action. These forces have the task of acting according to the escalation of the situation.

Today's events in Shkoder show that, despite the warnings issued by Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, in his message to the Albanian people, there are some dark forces which seek to destabilize the situation in the country.

Vandals Use Weapons; Army Refrains

AU1312214190 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Excerpts] As our ATA correspondent reports, an event occurred in the city of Shkoder today which has caused concern and deep indignation among the city's population. [passage omitted]

To reimpose order and calm in the city and to defend government and social institutions, the forces of public order and the Army came into action. [passage omitted] These forces have the task of acting according to the escalation of the situation.

The vandalic elements used weapons as well as fire and dynamite to destroy different buildings. The forces of order and the Army did not use their firearms. [passage omitted]

10 Injured 13 Dec; Calm Prevails

LD1412150690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1318 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 14 (TANJUG)—In addition to Shkode, demonstrations were yesterday also held in Kavaje, an Albanian reporter from Tirana told TANJUG's headquarters in Belgrade by telephone today.

The reporter, who asked to remain anonymous, said the situation in both towns is now calm. The demonstrations in Shkoder, which he said had lasted from noon to the evening, were violent. The protesters smashed windows and caused considerable damage in the town.

When asked whether the demonstrations were organized or spontaneous, the reporter said he did not know, but added that a group of demonstrators tried to seize Radio Shkoder and read a statement to the public.

He confirmed that ten people were injured in the demonstrations and 30 arrested. In addition to police, Army units also participated in dispersing the protesters, the reporter said.

There were injured among the security troops, he added, but could not specify how many.

"Several journalists are on the scene of the events and we expect more detailed information this afternoon," he said.

According to the Albanian reporter, the police did not intervene yesterday against the demonstrators in Kavaje, though they too were smashing windows of shops and other buildings. In this small town near Tirana people went out into the streets also on Sunday, when student riots broke out in the capital.

On democratization of the country and the setting up of its first independent organization - the Democratic Party - the reporter said: "I think this is good for the future of the country."

He said that the Democratic Party had not yet elected its leaders and would be led until elections by an initiating committee made up of a number of figures.

On behalf of the committee, announcements and statements have been made so far by Gramoz Pashko, a professor of economics at the University of Tirana, Sali Berisha, a cardiologist and well-known human rights champion in Albania, Besnik Mustafaj, a writer, and Arben Imame.

The Democratic Party is the only party formed since the outbreak of student demonstrations and there has been no initiative so far for forming any other, the Albanian reporter said.

Last night, the party appealed to the citizens of Shkoder to halt demonstrations and refrain from acts of violence.

Asked whether Ramiz Alia was behind the latest changes, the reporter answered in the affirmative, adding that some conservative elements in the country's leadership were opposed to them.

Asked about the fate of Enver Hoxha's window Nexhmije, who is president of the People's Front of Albania and presumed leader of the conservative current, the reporter said that there has been no information on this matter so far.

"There was neither public criticism of her in the press, nor did the demonstrators shout slogans against her," he said.

Shkoder Said 'Relatively Calm'

AU1412152990 Paris AFP in English 1447 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Nicolas Miletitch report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Dec 14 (AFP)—About 1,000 rioters yelling "Democracy!" and "Freedom!" vandalised buildings and looted stores Friday in the central Albanian city of Elbasan, a source reported by telephone from Tirana. [passage omitted]

The unrest came as calm returned to Tirana after students demanding democratic measures had led demonstrations for four days in a row. On Tuesday [11 December] President Ramiz Alia announced that opposition political parties would be allowed to be formed and compete in legislative elections in February. Residents of Tirana contacted by telephone Friday said the capital was "perfectly normal."

Observers said the continuing unrest could tip Europe's last hard-line communist state into anarchy or toward brutal repression of nascent democracy. "The continuation of this kind of incident just plays into conservative hands, threatens the continuation of the democratic process and risks leading us to anarchy," said author Beshnik Mustafaj.

Some 200 people took part in the demonstrations in Shkoder, which lasted several hours, Mr. Mustafaj told Agence France-Presse by telephone from Tirana. "Private homes, shops and official buildings were dynamited," he said. Mr. Mustafaj said the situation in Shkoder was "relatively calm" Friday afternoon although it was under heavy Army and police patrols.

Communist Party headquarters in Shkoder were attacked and the demonstrators blew up the radio station there, ZERI I POPULLIT reported. The demonstrators opened fire against Army and police who were brought in to disperse them, the newspaper said, adding that some 30 people were arrested. [passage omitted]

"There are many who think the February elections will have to be postponed to allow the opposition to organize itself," a journalist for the writers' union magazine DRITA said.

A Christian Democratic Party is being founded in Shkoder with the backing of several Roman Catholic priests, independent sources in Tirana said. In November, some 5,000 assembled for a mass celebrated there by Archbishop Simon Jubani, who was freed in 1989 after 22 years imprisonment as the regime took a first tentative step to drop religious restrictions. It was the first mass openly celebrated in Albania since 1967, when the regime closed down all churches.

Problems Reported in Kavaja 14 Dec

AU1412122090 Paris AFP in English 1026 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Dec 14 (AFP)—Fighting between Albanian soldiers and "vandals" armed with guns and bombs left 10 wounded Thursday [13 December] in the northern town of Shkoder, the Albanian Communist Party newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT reported Friday. The Army was called in to quash "hooligans" without any political aims, Radio Tirana reported. The newspaper article said the "vandals" fired shots, and that there were wounded on both sides. About 30 people were arrested, it said. [passage omitted]

Thursday, ZERI I POPULLIT reported that young people had smashed shop-windows and vandalised government buildings in the central city of Kavaje, just 50 kilometers (30 miles) from Tirana.

Albania's first opposition party, the Albanian Democratic Party— founded Wednesday—Thursday condemned the "destructive forces" in Shkoder and Kavaje and called on citizens there to "denounce provocateurs trying to compromise the construction of democracy." Party spokesman Adem Imami appealed on television for the population to remain calm.

With the president also calling for calm—he warned of a danger of "anarchy" Wednesday—observers in neighbouring Yugoslavia said the situation in Albania appeared tense. No foreign journalist has been allowed to visit Albania recently.

'1,000 Rioters' Cause Damage in Elbasan

AU1412141090 Paris AFP in English 1401 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 14 (AFP)—About 1,000 rioters yelling "Democracy!" and "Freedom!" damaged buildings and looted stores Friday in the central Albanian city of Elbasan, a source reported by telephone from Tirana.

The demonstrators—most of them workers at a big steel plant in Elbasan, the country's third largest city with a population of 81,000—destroyed the cinema and several bookstores, the source said. By early afternoon police had still not intervened, he said.

Violence in Kavaje, Shkoder Condemned

AU1412155590

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1430 GMT on 14 December devotes 13 minutes of its regular 30-minute newscast to interviews with intellectuals, students, and working people. The announcer begins the cast by stating "Democratic means are the only road to democratic developments; this is in response to Comrade Ramiz Alia's message to the Albanian people."

In a recorded interview, Professor Dr. Rexhep Mejdani, dean of the Tirana University Faculty of Natural Sciences and chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, states that "This message is a new inspiration to the academic intelligentsia to promote the full democratization of life in our country," "which is not only a demand of student youth and the intelligentsia, but the entire Albanian people." Mejdani urges "wise dialogue, sound culture, and genuine discipline." "On this occasion, I call on the entire academic intelligentsia to support all the steps of Comrade Ramiz to accomplish the process of the democratization of the country's life, through wisdom, tact, and dialogue."

A recorded interview follows with Gramoz Pashko, "who has made a significant contribution to the democratic processes taking place in our country." Commenting on events in Kavaje and Shkoder, Pashko states: "In my name, and on behalf of the Organizing Commission of the Democratic Party [words indistinct], (?I wish to say) that my personal stand and that of the leading commission of the party—and I trust I express the view of all those tens of thousands of students, workers, and intellectuals who took part in the peaceful process which took place in Tirana and led successfully to the formation of this party—is that the events in Kavaje and Shkoder have made us extremely sad and worried. They do not express our true spirit, the true Albanian spirit, which is marked by a great sense of justice and logic. We are civilized people, who must show the world that we will advance straight ahead on the road of democracy, not through violence and blood."

Asked about the views of students on these events, Pashko states: "My career as a teacher has made me a humanist, and I have devoted my entire career, life, and energies to students. The students have impressed me with their great desire for dialogue, understanding and peace [words indistinct]. We have discussed these events at length with the students; they are very worried, and ready to talk to these people immediately and tell them that the road of peace and understanding—as was followed in Tirana, with continual dialogue—can bear fruit and results. We and the students understand the difficulties through which our people are passing at this moment. We know the difficult conditions, but we are all working to overcome them. They can only be overcome by peaceful means. I wish to stress something very important: Throughout this process, the merits of President Ramiz Alia are undeniable. The students too are convinced that his contribution was very great. President Ramiz Alia was open to dialogue with them, open to a peaceful solution to those problems which surfaced in Tirana last Saturday, Sunday, and Monday [8-10 December]; furthermore, he found the best solution to them through dialogue. It is his indisputable merit, a historic merit, that he found the right solution at the right time by giving us the opportunity to create political parties. The creation of these political parties is the best road, the road of parliamentary dialogue, which will lead to the solution of all issues in the future."

Interviews with two students follow, who express "deep indignation" at events in Shkoder and Kavaje: "We students rose to our feet, and in our movement sought democracy and a deepening of the reforms undertaken by Comrade Ramiz Alia; but our struggle has nothing in common with what happened in Kavaje and Shkoder, with this struggle which has antinational aims and has nothing to do with our noble aims for the civilization of the Albanian people."

In recorded interviews, a head teacher and a student at a secondary school in Kavaje also express support for the "irreversible" process of democratization, "which must be achieved through dialogue and understanding." A Kavaje local official states: As we saw on the television news, as a result of the activities of some young people, various disturbances occurred, and in my view the damage is substantial. So far, the damage done to stores, with broken glass and so forth, amounts to 350,000 leks. I think that (?problems) cannot be solved by damage and destruction, but should be resolved through wise discussion and sound logic, based on the law. The people of Kavaje are able to establish order themselves, through the advice of Comrade Ramiz and his television message to the entire people." The official states that "the supply of food to the people is functioning normally."

In two final interviews, a worker at a Korce garment enterprise and the director of Vithkuq agricultural cooperative express support for Alia and democratization and praise "the inspiration of his message to fulfill our tasks."

Press Reports on 'Hooligan-Like Acts'

AU1412114890 Tirana ATA in English 1120 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 14 (ATA)— The press writes of the hooligan-like acts in Shkoder city, undertaken on December 13 by a group of vagabonds who performed grave acts of violence and destruction. They put to fire some shops, broke the glasses and stole goods, they used dynamite in some objects and fire arms against the forces of order and the army. On this occasion the newspapers carry a statement of the initiating commission for the creation of the Albanian Democratic Party, which expresses among others the great (?indignation) for these law-breaking and destructive forces. It stresses that such acts have nothing in common with the democracy we all together want to establish, but they compromise and

undermine it. Let us recall the words of the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia at the message to the Albanian people: "If we shall seek democracy through violation of the law, we shall never attain it", the statement says .

Alia Receives Collectives' Messages of Support

AU1412124090 Tirana ATA in English 0851 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 14 (ATA)—The decisions of the 13th plenum of the party Central Committee and Comrade Ramiz Alia's message to the Albanian people are welcomed with great concern throughout the country. Numerous working collectives, workers, cooperativists, intellectuals, militarymen, etc., have sent letters and telegrams to Comrade Ramiz Alia, which express the unanimous solidarity to be united on the road of the non stop democratization of the country .

We followed with special attention the proceedings of the 13th plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party] and your meeting with the students' representatives, the people of "Muslim Peza" agricultural cooperative in Peze, Tirana District, write to Comrade Ramiz Alia. The people of Peze region, who historically are linked like flesh to bone with the party, powerfully support the recent decisions of the party for the democratization of the life of the country and the strengthening of its economy.

Today it is needed more than ever that the student youth actively contribute to the processes of the democratization of the life of the country the party with you Comrade Ramiz are leading us to. [sentence as received]

We assure you, dear Comrade Ramiz, that we will not allow amidst our ranks such elements who through their word or work aim at destabilizing the situation and disorientating the people. Our collective will enhance its mobilization to fulfill the planned tasks and begin well the next year, write the collective of the "8 Nentori" sugar combine in Maliq, Korce District.

We attentively followed the proceedings of the 13th plenum of the party Central Committee and your conversation with the students' representatives, the students, pedagogues of the Higher Pedagogical Institute in Gjirokaster write among others to Comrade Ramiz Alia. We joyfully hail these as wise, pure, and farsighted acts with which you are solving the serious problems our country is undergoing at present. We are sure that this is the road that guarantees the freedom and independence of our beloved Albania.

The collective of the Studies and Automatic Designs Center hails the decisions of the 13th plenum of the CC of the PLA as well as the ideas expressed by Comrade Ramiz Alia at the meeting with the students' representatives.

We promise to be active members in the historic movement for the democratization of the life of the country.

The working people of Kukes District, gathered at an extended meeting to define the all-sided measures to successfully crown the election campaign for deputies to the People's Assembly, write among the other things: "We got acquainted with the important decisions adopted by the 13th plenum of the party Central Committee and the message addressed to our people to preserve independence, freedom and national unity. We consider them as another step the party is undertaking in the irreversible process of the democratization of the whole life of the country, that is why we unanimously support them.

The message sent by the Veterans' Committee of Vlore says: "This message inspires us, makes us enhance our vigilance, determination and devotion to strengthen the militant unity of the people round the party with you at the head, dear Comrade Ramiz, to defend the freedom, independence of the homeland and the people's power."

The mechanizers of the SMT [machinery and tractor station] in Diber District write among the other things:

As always the working class is with the Party of Labour of Albania and with you, dear Comrade Ramiz, to strengthen the national unity and not to allow any enemy, whoever it might be, to grab our victories, the freedom and independence. We are confident and express our support that just as the whole people we will overcome the created situation.

The communists and cadres of Abdyl Frasheri Unit in Permet write: "At these moments and situations we express once again the determination, loyalty and lofty patriotism for the correct and farsighted line pursued by the Party of Labour of Albania with you at the head, Comrade Ramiz, for the good of the people and homeland. The democratic processes the party is leading us to have enhanced the optimism and confidence of the people for a better future.

Popov's Ability To Form Cabinet Questioned

AU1312153690 Sofia BTA in English 1339 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Dec (BTA)—Mr. Dimitur Popov, who is to form a new cabinet, has only one day left for negotiations.

But well-informed people from both left and right, doubt that he will succeed. "The parliament could give him a little more time but it would hardly help," says a UDF [Union of Democratic Forces—SDS] representative at the talks on the political forces' agreement.

This morning Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev and Mr. Petko Simeonov, opposition MP's, also expressed their doubt. Some opposition leaders point out that the new cabinet should be a caretaker one.

In the political jargon of the day Mr. Popov is called "Gianni Rodari." Since last Friday [7 December] he has repeatedly stated he is "full of hope for success." But judging from the reactions of the people he has talked with, it is evident that he is not very successful in "vending" his hopes. ("Vendor of Hope" is the most popular of Rodari's books in Bulgaria.)

There are different points of view even on the structure of the new government. The opposition wants to reduce the number of the ministries and rejects the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] claims to the Ministries of Finance and Foreign Relations. However, the bone of contention seems to be the Ministry of the Interior. "We won't sign the agreement unless the BSP gives up the Ministry of the Interior," Mr. Petko Simeonov said on the national radio this morning. The political forces are expected to finalize the agreement today.

Asked about the distribution of the ministries, Mr. Dimitur Popov said in an interview for OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK that there is no formula for this. The final version of the agreement provides for the equal distribution of the eight key ministries between the BSP and the UDF.

The people regarded as certain to enter the new cabinet are: Mr. Todor Vulchev, professor in economics, Mr. Georgi Pirinski, who is Mr. Lukanov's closest aide, Mr. Ivan Kostov, a UDF economic expert and Mr. Khristo Genchev, a famous architect. The BSP list of nominees includes also Mrs. Nora Ananieva who used to be deputy prime minister in Mr. Lukanov's cabinet, but she has refused to join the new cabinet, OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK announced today.

"No members of the 'Nikola Petkov' Agrarian Party will enter the new government," the party spokesman told the BTA several times. The Social Democrats are also unwilling to commit themselves to Mr. Popov. However, Mr. Petur Dertliev, the Social Democrat leader, leaves a loophole by saying that if a Social Democrat accepts a ministerial post, he or she will not be representing the party.

From a Socialist taking part in the discussions on the new government, there leaked the information that the sides have agreed on appointing ministers from the extraparliamentary parties as well. It is unclear, however, which parties are being considered and they are numerous and range from the extreme left to the extreme right.

The government crisis has deepened as the opposition expressed, though still discreetly, its doubts in Mr. Dimitur Popov's neutrality.

Cabinet Composition Uncertain

AU1412122190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] We remind our listeners that today is the final day of the seven-day period which parliament approved by vote, during which Mr. Dimitur Popov was entrusted with the task of forming a new government. However, according to information quoted this morning in the Sofia press, it becomes clear that we are unlikely to learn today the names of the members of the new cabinet.

At a meeting with representatives of the Coalition of Political Forces Outside Parliament, Mr. Popov said that he is unlikely to submit a proposal on a new government before the end of next week, because it is not certain whether the agreement between the political forces will be signed by then.

SDS Sets Conditions for Government Participation

AU1312203490 Sofia BTA in English 2009 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Dec (BTA)—The opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] sees the only opportunity for the country's salvation in a cabinet formed with the participation of the UDF team of economists, ready to start the reform in accordance with the economic concept of the UDF, it is said in the decision of the opposition coalition announced today.

The UDF insists on setting up a restructured cabinet in which the Ministry of the Interior should be headed by a representative of the UDF, while the Bulgarian Socialist Party should take the Ministry of Defense.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov, the new chairman of the UDF Coordinating Council, told a BTA reporter that the UDF insists on a teamed-up representation in a restructured cabinet.

Mr. Georgi Pirinski, an MP of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), shared this in an interview aired on radio. He did not state categorically that the disputes over the Ministry of the Interior can become "the small stone that would overturn the cart". The Socialists will insist on complying with the agreement reached at the talks held under the aegis of the president last Thursday, according to which a number of ministries should be distributed on

the basis of parity. "If the UDF accepts the parity principle, we will have grounds for discussion", Mr. Pirinski said.

The MP of the BSP did not make it clear if his party would categorically demand the control over the Ministry of the Interior.

Key Ministries Disputed; Rationing Projected

AU1412133590 Paris AFP in English 1257 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Dec (AFP)—Bulgarian Prime Minister-designate Dimitar Popov was expected to ask parliament Friday [14 December] to prolong his mandate to form a new government, press reports said.

So far he has been unable to form a cabinet because of disputes between the formerly communist PSB [Bulgarian Socialist Party—BSP] Socialist Party -in a majority - and the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS].

Both want the key interior ministry portolio. Problems have also arisen over the ministries for finance, the economy, and foreign trade which the UDF wants run together. But the Socialists refuse to give up finance and foreign trade.

President Zhelyu Zhelev last Friday gave Mr. Popov, a 63-year-old lawyer, the task of forming a temporary coalition government within a week to succeed the Socialist administration of Andrei Lukanov brought down by a general strike and street protests.

His task has been made increasingly urgent by a deteriorating economic situation and worsening food crisis. With winter now settling in, the new government will have to take urgent action to avoid famine and an energy shortage, analysts said.

If Mr. Popov fails in his attempts, President Zhelev, who came from opposition ranks, could ask for additional powers and appoint a government of experts.

Political observers said the debate in parliament appeared to have lost touch with the reality of a rapidly deteriorating economic and political situation throughout the country.

Despite rationing of basic foodstuffs, consumers are not certain of being able to buy what they need. Shops in the capital are empty and long queues form whenever any product appears. No meat was delivered to the capital during the last week.

The Mayor of Sofia, Alexandre Karakachanov, of the UDF, said on Tuesday that warehouses contained only 20 per cent of the amount of food required.

He asked the health ministry to decide what was the minimum vital amount of food required per person, and proposed that national rationing be introduced along the lines of the system applied in what was then West Germany and in Austria after the end of World War II. The aim would be to enable all Bulgarians to survive through the crisis.

The outlook for the spring was little better. Many farm animals will have to be slaughtered because of a shortage of feed.

Press reports have said that Sofia needs a credit of 150 million dollars in order to survive until the next harvest.

President Zhelev on New Government's Chances

AU1312130990 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 11 Dec 90 p 1

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Simeon Danevski; place and date not given: "Not Only Democratic Goals, But Also Democratic Means Are Required"]

[Text] [Danevski] Mr. President, the future cabinet is expected to implement your idea on a programmatic government which you proposed some time ago.

[Zhelev] This is indeed so, although a slight shade of difference should be pointed out. Things are changing so rapidly, that solutions and actions cannot remain the same. The new government will be entrusted with several major tasks and it must devote its efforts to their implementation. The stabilization of the country's economic and political situation is one of the highest priorities. It is absolutely necessary.

[Danevski] Are you optimistic in this respect?

[Zhelev] I have always been an optimist, this is part of my nature. The country's political situation will depend on our joint efforts to seek and find compromises. Without such prerequisites, Mr. Popov will be unable to guarantee the necessary economic and internal stability.

[Danevski] Are you not afraid that the pressure from the street might continue?

[Zhelev] There should be no such pressure, irrespective of the fact that numerous demands raised by the students, who are the chief exponents of the protest movement in our country, are justified and correct. Nevertheless, I am categorically opposed to sit-in strikes. This is not a democratic method of struggle, this has nothing in common with political struggle at all. We should establish a solid basis for our future democratic system as of today. Not only our goals, but also our means should be democratic. This is not always the case at the present time.

[Danveski] How do you propose to fight against such undemocratic means?

[Zhelev] With greater patience and with more efforts devoted to the improvement of the people's political education. We need time for this, of course; however, without establishing lasting democratic traditions, we cannot pursue our bold progress toward the future.

Political tension is still very high in this country, although we can breathe more freely today. I am confident that the political forces will be capable of mastering the situation with the help of democratic means as I already pointed out. I am confident that they will be capable of achieving their major objective—namely the establishment of a truly democratic state ruled by law. I do not see any reason for failure in achieving this goal. Political good will, patience, and skill are all that is required for this purpose.

Civic Movement Declaration on Government Formation

AU1312201190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Civic Movement Declares That It Will Oppose Any Government Established on the Basis of Manipulation"]

[Text] We shall oppose any government which might be established as a result of behind-the-scenes manipulations, by the diktat of the street, or under the influence of alien forces from abroad, the National Council of the Movement for Democracy and Social Justice stated in a declaration adopted three days ago.

If a government which does not reflect the people's vote and the real correlation of political forces within the Grand National Assembly should be established, the Movement for Democracy and Social Justice shall insist on new parliamentary elections and on the election of a new president of the Republic. A parliament which is deliberately renouncing its supreme state power position cannot guide the people's destinies, the declaration further states. The declaration on this point refers to a recent statement that "not the parliament, but the Political Consultative Council under the president is virtually deciding on the people's fate today."

The declaration also states that the legitimately elected government was overthrown by force on 29 November 1990. The general political strike used extremist methods and aggressive means, such as sabotage and threats, it obstructed the basic road communications by erecting barricades. The two Bulgarian trade union organizations are engaged in purely political activities.

The declaration also expresses a view on the students protests. Students' sit-ins are described as a gross violation of the universities' self-management. Following one year of struggle for the depoliticization of schools, children and secondary school students were driven out on the streets and squares, being manipulated and abused for gross political objectives, the declaration further points out.

The movement thinks that the national mass media have contributed to the exacerbation of confrontation based on nationality issues, that the passivity, neutral attitude, and undecisiveness of the basic democratic institutions, the inner-party struggles and the striving for power by the major political forces have also contributed their share to the present situation.

The Movement for Democracy and Social Justice was established by the end of November. Its constituent documents show that the movement rallies representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Union of Democratic Forces, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and people who are not affiliated with any political party whatsoever.

Business Bloc Offers Itself as 3d Political Force

AU1312164290 Sofia BTA in English 1525 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Dec (BTA)—The party of the Bulgarian Business Bloc (BBB), which was founded just a few days ago, today made its first move on the national political scene stating that it would be the alternative to the two "toothless" giants in parliament—the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Union of Democratic Forces.

The chairman of the BBB, Mr. George Ganchev, a Bulgarian who went to the West in 1967 and made a lot of money there in the show business and patronage, let it be understood that he disapproves of the total politicization of society which has replaced the settlement of the real economic problems.

It was specified that the initial intention to set up the BBB as a right-wing elitist party had evolved into founding an organization that would be in the centre or a little to the right of it.

It is important for the BBB to unite all industrious, capable and enterprising Bulgarians who consider the economic prosperity to be the basis for political freedom.

The ambition of the BBB is to win 30 to 50 seats, and in a 200- or 250-member parliament at that, in the next parliamentary elections which will probably be held in the middle of next year.

The Business Bloc wants to improve radically Bulgaria's image before the world, for which it would rely on lobbies in different capitals all over the world that would also include prosperous compatriots in the West.

Attracting foreign investments, but not selling out Bulgaria—this is the principle the party will be guided by. Mr. George Ganchev, who heads the biggest consultative consortium in the world, KPMG [expansion not known], pointed out the possibility of attracting Turkish investments, but not in places populated by compact masses of ethnic Turks. We should not enter the Black Sea basin as Turkey has proposed, because we will not be able to leave it, he added.

Support Grows for Rahn's Economic Reform Program

AU1312161490 Sofia BTA in English 1531 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—The number of signatures put under the proposal of a group of initiators demanding that the Bulgarian Parliament considers the programme "Rahn-Utt" [as received] is growing.

There are more than 80 signatures of MP's for the programme. Among those are the signatures of Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, number two in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]; Mr. Viktor Vulkov, the leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS); Mrs. Elka Konstantinova, leader of the Radical Democratic Party; almost the whole parliamentary group of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, and MP's from all parliamentary groups.

At the beginning of October a team of American experts led by Dr. Richard Rahn, vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, submitted a project for the transition to market economy in Bulgaria.

In the middle of November seven persons, MP's from various groups and economic experts, publicly declared that the programme of Mr. Lukanov's socialist government was not a programme of national consent and backed Mr. Rahn's project. They proposed to set up a "Bloc for the Rescue of the Nation" and take the "Rahn-Utt" project as a basis of a programme for national consent. They provide complements because of the specific Bulgarian conditions.

'Marxist Platform' Statement on Revisionism

AU1312205590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Dec 90 p 2

[Dora Chichkova report: "Bulgarian Socialist Party Marxist Platform Is Afraid of Revisionism"]

[Text] The main danger to which the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is exposed today is the possibility that its Marxist-Leninist theoretical basis might be replaced by certain other theories, especially the theory of post-industrial society. This is the opinion of the supporters of the "Marxist Platform for the BSP's Unity and Renewal" which held a national conference yesterday.

The delegates were provided with a draft platform which was explained in an introductory speech by Professor Dr. Asen Kutov who defined it as an alternative to the platform adopted by the 39th BSP Congress. The watershed between the two platforms is the concept of socialism, according to Professor Kutov. It is the question whether socialism is a real society which rejects capitalism, or whether it is some trend of development as "the party's liquidators" claim. Professor Kutov describes the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO], the "Road to Europe" Movement, the Alternative Socialist Party [ASP], and Ivan Kalchev's "black" newspaper DEN as part of the liquidators. The tragedy of socialism is explained by unprecedented social deformations in the aforementioned document.

In his closing address, Professor Kutov pointed out that all participants in the conference approved the draft platform. However, the document was not submitted to a vote. This was presumably the result of a statement by Aleksandur Marinov, member of the BSP Supreme Council. He explained that the renewal of BSP membership is based on the platform adopted by the 39th BSP Congress and whoever does not approve it, should not be a member of this particular party. The speakers who followed him resolved the controversy by declaring that they accept the platform for the unity and renewal of the BSP not as an alternative to the congress platform, but as the platform of one among the numerous ideological currents existing within the BSP.

The participants in the conference expressed their firm resolve to rescue the party from the "ideological confusion and disorganization." They assumed the task of mobilizing the "healthy forces" within the party and halt the restoration of capitalism, of reviving the socialist principle based on communist objectives.

Complaints were voiced about discrimination against the "Marxist forces" within the BSP, about the fact that revisionist concepts are being imposed by totalitarian methods, and that the experience of the older generations of antisfascist resistance fighters is being disregarded.

The conference adopted an appeal to the Socialists. The appeal urges a new BSP congress to be held prior to the municipal elections and which should elect a new leadership. A protest declaration was also adopted in connection with Zhelyu Zhelev's statement about the Socialist Party on the occasion of his latest speech at the Grand National Assembly. The delegates called for the president's resignation.

The conference elected a national aktiv in charge of the "Marxist Platform for the BSP's Unity and Renewal." Rumyana Modeva was elected chairman. She is also an active member of the "Marxist Alternative" ideological current. Nevertheless, it is not quite clear to what extent the two concepts about the BSP's development coincide and if the difference between them consists only of their approach to Leninism.

Power Cuts Blamed on Kozloduy Plant Problems

AU1412105790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] A short time ago, a representative of the Energy Industry Committee told a BTA reporter the following:

Today the shortage in the generating capacities of the energy system is about 600-700 megawatts. The reason for this is that at 2350 [2130 GMT] last night the No. 5 generating unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant was shut down because of the indicated poor quality of

the demineralized water in the second circuit. For this reason, electricity supplies to the population will be interrupted for one hour in every four.

According to preliminary forecasts, it is expected that at 1700 [1500 GMT] today the generating unit start operating at half-capacity, and will reach its full production capacity by the end of the day. If the unit is not connected in parallel with the system, and if, in light of the overloading of the energy system it is considered necessary to introduce a new schedule for power cuts, the Energy Industry Committee will provide citizens with additional information.

Zhelev Meets Rokovski Officers' Legion Leaders

AU1312164190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] The spokesman of the president of the Republic has informed the Khorizont Program through BTA that today Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, met with members of the leadership of the Rakovski Legion.

The Bulgarian president stressed the need for the Bulgarian Army to hold truly patriotic standpoints and to be an institution enjoying the respect of all citizens. He noted that the Rakovski Legion was the first public movement which declared its support for depoliticization even before the adoption of the Law on Amending the Law on Political Parties. In his statement, he condemned the dangerous phenomena for national security, behind which certain organizations stand, and declared that in the Army there should be only one party—Bulgaria. Thus, the Army and the other depoliticized departments will express the lasting interests of all the people.

The participants in the meeting explicitly emphasized that the Legion declares its absolute loyalty to the institutions of state and holds the same attitude toward all parties in the country. In this connection, they insisted that the Legion should also be asked for its view when military issues were being examined.

Zhelev Expected To Visit Germany in Early 1991

AU1212145690 Sofia BTA in English 1316 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Dec (BTA)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev will visit Germany in the first quarter of next year, Mr. Ivaylo Trifonov, head of the Office of the President, said in an interview with OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK after his return from a visit to Germany.

According to him the president's visit will not be just a protocol one, because some practical forms for activating the two countries' cooperation will be agreed.

Mr. Trifonov stressed Germany's view that there are favourable conditions for promoting cooperation between the two countries. Germany looks favourably on the idea of giving urgent aid to Bulgaria, apart from the long-term aid which will be granted to her after signing the agreement with the International Monetary Fund and the completion of the talks at the Paris creditors' club. Germany will actively defend Bulgaria's interests at the EC session to be held December 14-15 in Rome. The Red Cross and many private organizations in Germany have launched a campaign for sending humanitarian relief to Bulgaria.

Pollution, Waste Disposal Discussed With Japan

AU1312174190 Sofia BTA in English 1712 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Dec (BTA)—Today a Bulgaro-Japanese seminar on air pollution and the disposal of waste took place here. It is part of the programme of a group of Japanese specialists who have been in Bulgaria since December 9. The purpose of their visit is to see the equipment for the protection and cleaning up of the air and for processing industrial and household waste. They will draw up a special report, making recommendations to the Ministry of Environment. Having in mind that the Japanese Jetro Foreign Trade Organization is co-organizer of the seminar, it can be expected that some Japanese companies will make concrete offers.

The disposal of harmful waste is the most alarming problem awaiting its solution. Most of the waste is rendered harmless and liquidated on the spot in the different enterprises. There is not a uniform system for collecting and transporting harmful waste; there are not centralized installations for their destruction and controlled storage.

According to the projects of the Komunaltechmach Company most of the annual amount of household waste (about 59 percent) is rendered harmless by keeping it in controlled storage. It is planned to construct 91 warehouses for this purpose. The rest will be reprocessed by making a maximum use of the recycled resources. The collection of waste separated by types has been organized in one city only. The construction of two plants for burning household waste has been stopped due to financial considerations.

Bulgaria expects to be given aid under the Phare Programme for building up an automated system for monitoring and controlling the air and for the equipment of some regional laboratories where smoke-gas pollution will be analysed.

Daily Quotes Pithart on Possible Crisis

AU1012152590 Prague CTK in English 0900 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)— Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart has told the daily "MLADA FRONTA DNES" that if the Czechoslovak parliament failed to pass a bill on power-sharing or passed it with changes that would be unacceptable to the Slovak political representation, the Slovak National Council would declare that its laws are above the laws of the federation.

"This would mean a constitutional crisis... We all see that the situation is serious and thus we are looking for ways to avoid the worst option," the prime minister said asked if this meant that Slovakia would separate from the federation.

The Czech and Slovak prime ministers, Petr Pithart and Vladimir Meciar, met unexpectedly for new talks on the proposed division of powers in Czechoslovakia yesterday and Pithart spoke about these discussions.

Pithart said the meeting followed discussions in Slovakia on what were the limits of tolerable amendments to the draft law on power-sharing. "They turned out to be very close to the proposal made by the three governments. This proposal was approved by the Slovak National Council (parliament) without changes and by the Czech National Council with six changes three of which are important," Pithart said without specifying what they were. (The proposal was worked out after a series of debates, at times dramatic, that have been held between the Czech, Slovak and Federal Governments since last August.)

Pithart said representatives of the Czech and Slovak Governments discussed at their meeting yesterday all options of a crisis, "including those which need not lead to separation. However, separation is not considered by the two republics' representations. They judge the optimal forms of mutual coexistence. We agreed to start immediate talks at the level of the national councils and governments even in case of the worst option about such a modus vivendi which would mean the least economic and political losses. Even the worst option has its optimistic outcome in our notions," Pithart said. The prime ministers said no information would be given until Tuesday so as not to influence the debates in the Federal Assembly (parliament) which are to begin next week.

Democratic Party States Position on Situation

LD1012230290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Radio address by Democratic Party Chairman Jan Holcik; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The Democratic Party, which is based on democratic principles, is of the opinion that consensus is the only way of solving the present internal political situation. Once again we point out, and we do not consider this to be putting pressure on anyone, that a fundamental consensus on the question of division of powers took place on the level of the three governments, which the Slovak National Council respected completely, and we consider this to be its contribution to solving the question of mutual relations between Czechs and Slovaks. We think that at this moment it is the primary task of the Federal Assembly to discuss and adopt the division of powers bill.

The question of the creation of the constitutional court should be dealt with by the Constitution of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic which will be created and adopted simultaneously with the constitutions of both republics. We also see no reason for the extraordinary strengthening of the powers of the president of the Republic. We consider a referendum as a final and last resort method of preserving the existing constitutional set up and only if all legal mechanisms have failed, which are irreplacable in a pluralist democracy. We believe, that the Federal Assembly and its deputies will adopt a bill which justly divides the powers and duties of both republics, a bill which will express the will of both our nations to live in a joint state.

Party Official on Social Democrats' Policy

AU1112085290

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 7 December on pages 1 and 3 carries a 1,500-word interview with Jiri Marek, member of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy (CSSD) Executive Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSD press section, by RUDE PRAVO reporter Pavel Kryl entitled "Social Democracy Is a Way of Thinking." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Marek deals with recent developments within the CSSD and with his party's attitude to the Communist Party.

Marek is first asked to comment on the CSSD's performance in the recent local elections, in which it won over five percent of the votes. He replies that the CSSD "is satisfied with the local elections" because it "achieved what it could achieve." He points out that the party did not run at all in 90 percent of small communities and concentrated on larger cities with more than 20,000 citizens. In one of them, Teplice, it even emerged as the "winner." At the same time Marek expresses his "disappointment" with the fact that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia received the votes of many potential CSSD voters. This indicates, he says, that "the CSSD is not developing the way we would like it to develop." One of the reasons, according to Marek, is that the CSSD's positions are not sufficiently known. He therefore attributes great importance to the distribution of the party weekly PRAVO LIDU and of the "recently established independent daily DEMOKRAT, which has made its pages available not only to us but also to the trade unions." Marek believes that these two publications "could play an important role in shaping the left wing" once they become better known.

Next, Marek comments on the CSSD's internal situation. He says that there are two streams within the party: "One stream would like to preserve the CSSD as a party operating mainly vertically while the other stream, represented predominantly by younger members, would like to see the CSSD as a platform of opinions. I trust that the CSSD congress next March will show which of the two streams is more viable." In this context Marek regrets that "an environment corresponding to a pluralistic democratic party has not yet been established within the CSSD." According to Marek, some "older colleagues from the CSSD leadership," for example, regard criticism from within the party as a personal attack.

The remaining part of the interview concerns the prospects for the unification of the Czechoslovak left. Marek says that the CSSD "must become an integral part of the Czechoslovak left" and has already forged ties with the "Revival" club with this in mind. He believes that, in view of its links with the Socialist International, the CSSD is well placed to become an integrating element of the left in Czechoslovakia. He also voices the view that "the concept of the party's opening to all left-wing currents prevails in the CSSD." In this connection he mentions that the CSSD leadership decided to make available premises in Lidovy Dum [House of the People], the CSSD headquarters, to left-wing organizations which lack quarters of their own.

As for the prospects of cooperation between the CSSD and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Marek says that the CSSD's past "marriage" with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia proved "fateful and tragic" for the Social Democrats and that the CSSD cannot trust the Communists any longer. "Cooperation with the present Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as a political force is therefore absolutely unacceptable for us," he says. Marek also expresses the opinion that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia embraced the concept of democratic socialism only "because it is in its populist interest and to purge its name in some way." The CSSD official adds, however, that his party realizes that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia had many capable people among its members and that it "does not object" to former members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia joining the CSSD.

Havel Views Reaction to 10 Dec Speech

LD1112120290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Before his departure, Vaclav Havel made a statement to a CTK reporter on the internal political situation in Czechoslovakia. In it he said that he has received many responses to his speech yesterday in the Federal Assembly and they were very positive. Some Slovak politicians expressed their doubt by asking whether I—by new proposals—am not postponing the debating of the power-sharing bill; this has not been my intention, Vaclac Havel said. This has not happened anyway because the Federal Assembly will start in a few minutes time debating the power-sharing bill. I have only tried to think ahead, Vaclav Havel went on to say.

The issue is not only the possible crisis which could arise around this bill but the further possible crisis which can start in a situation when we have freedom but we have not worked out the democratic mechanism yet. Thus I have appealed to deputies to discuss my proposals as soon as possible. In addition, the parliament has indeed decided that they would go through committees as priority issues and that the plenum would also discuss them soon.

It seems to me, Vaclav Havel said, that both draft bills are beyond dispute. We have had a Constitutional Court in our Constitution for 22 years and a referendum is an institution quite common in many democratic countries. Thus I do not see a reason why there should be any hesitancy around them. It is possible that a view will emerge on whether a referendum should not be initiated by republics: this is, however, a matter for republics. I am putting forward a federal bill on referendum. If the Czech National Council or the Slovak National Council vote on their own bills on referendum then this is their business. Local representative bodies should have the same right, after all.

I believe, Vaclav Havel went on to say, that the situation has calmed down to such an extent that I can leave for the state visit. I will by this in fact demonstrate that it is not so serious as some may possibly believe. A cancellation of a foreign trip means always a number of speculations and worries. We shall remain in touch with home: after all, if it should be necessary, I can be back in two hours although I do not know at present how I could influence the deliberations of the Federal Assembly. Everything depends on deputies and I believe, Vaclav Havel said, that they will in peace and quiet and sensibly discuss the very important power-showing bill and that they will arrive at such a form of it that will be acceptable for all, or at least for a majority.

Concerning the temporary extension of presidential powers, Vaclav Havel said: It is possible that this proposal will meet with some resistance in the parliament; I am not surprised at this at all. Every parliament protests when it is to strengthen presidential powers. I have seen, however that situations can arise when a president, regardless of who he is, needs to have a possibility for certain operative steps. I have a considerably clear idea what kind of powers these should be but it would be untimely for me to explain them now, President Vaclav Havel said.

Trade Unions Support Havel's Stand, Proposals

AU1212123990 Prague CTK in English 1528 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czech and Moravian Chamber of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions voiced full support here

today for the stand and proposals submitted by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in the Federal Assembly (parliament) today.

The Presidium said it supported Havel's proposals in a situation when Czechoslovakia is on the brink of a constitutional crisis which might have far-reaching consequences for society. It spoke in favor of a real and viable federation.

SNS Issues Statement on Political Situation

LD1212092690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Slovak National Party [SNS] has issued a statement on the present internal political situation which has arisen concerning the discussion of the Division of Powers Bill. The statement emphasizes that the proposal from the Government of the Slovak Republic, which has been put to the Slovak National Council, is closest to the policy of this party.

In contrast to the compromise proposal from the 13 November talks of the prime ministers and deputy prime ministers of the national governments as well as the presidiums of the three governments, the proposal fully respects the ownership of the natural resources and energy by the Slovak Republic, enables its government to enter into international agreements at least to a limited extent, and acknowledges the financial economy of the republic as independent. At the same time the Executive Committee of the SNS asks the Slovak National Council and government to proclaim the sovereignty of Slovak National Council laws over the laws of the federation.

Slovak Parties Meet To Coordinate Policy

AU1212130990 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Dec 90 p 16

["(chk)"-signed report: "Light Tremor of the Federation; Common State Not Questioned"]

[Text] The debate at yesterday's meeting of Slovak social movements and political parties in Bratislava was polemical yet calm and constructive. The partners from the Slovak Public Against Violence [VPN]-Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]-Democratic Party government coalition called on the parliamentary opposition parties and the extraparliamentarian parties to cooperate with them as Slovakia's formidable economic tasks next year, which will be coupled with a serious social atmosphere, cannot be mastered without cooperation. Although they did not reject cooperation with the government coalition, some opposition parties reserved the right to criticize the government, which, in their opinion, is responsible for the present development and for the future state of the economy and society.

Representatives of individual political parties devoted extraordinary attention to the upcoming discussion of the power-sharing bill in the Federal Assembly. Even though divergent views were expressed in the debate, none of them called into question the Czechs' and Slovaks' common state. The Democratic Party also issued a statement to this effect yesterday. In reply to the repeatedly asked question on how the Slovak political representation would react if the Federal Assembly did not approve the power-sharing bill, F. Gal, leading representative of the VPN movement, said: "We want to go up to the end in asserting the bill." Asked by the HOSPODARSKE NOVINY reporter whether he allows the idea of Slovakia leaving the federation to enter his mind, F. Gal declared: "There is no need to draw up catastrophic scenarios, we have enough practical problems that must be tackled." Replying to the same question, KDH Central Secretary J. Petrik said unambiguously: "We do not consider such a situation possible for practical reasons." O. Keltosova, chairwoman of the Democratic Party Council of Consultants and deputy chairwoman of the Slovak National Council, also rejected the possibility of the state's disintegration in an interview for HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. She declared: "Personally and on behalf of the Democratic Party, I do not allow the possibility of the disintegration of the common state to enter my mind. Neither the Czech Republic nor the Slovak Republic would, on their own, be able to survive the difficult period without catastrophic repercussions."

The central motto of the meeting of political movements and parties in Bratislava was to abandon academic political debates and start concentrating on the difficult and intricate economic tasks.

Kucerak, Czech Deputies Clash in Parliament

AU1212142990 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

["nel"-signed report: "Lightning Over Deputies' Heads; Who Will Save the Czechoslovak Federation?"]

[Text] It was no flash in the pan but real lightning that was flashing over the heads of members of the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations yesterday, as they discussed the amendment to the Constitutional Law No. 143 of 1968 on the Czechoslovak federation (the so-called law on division of powers).

The lightning took the form of some statements by Mr. J. Kucerak, Slovak deputy prime minister:

"There can be a limit, beyond which certain political forces will not be willing to go. You yourselves decide whether there will be a federation or not...."

"Your powers are enormous but only as long as there is a federation...."

"One of the republics agreed on certain principles. It might happen that, if these principles are violated, the Slovak National Council will pass a different resolution...."

Mr. Kucerak and, in his own way, also Mr. Hoffmann, the federal minister of strategic planning, basically made it clear to the deputies that the three governments had already agreed on the text of the law, the Slovak National Council had approved of it in this form, and the Federal Assembly should not interfere with it too much. Naturally, this aroused slight astonishment, to say the least. It was expressed, among others, by Deputy Jan Vild (Civic Forum) [OF]: "Does Mr. Kucerak want to suggest that if the parliament approves changes to the law on the division of powers, the Slovak National Council and Slovakia will not accept it? In that case we need not be here at all...." Deputy Frantisek Samalik (OF) first called attention to the fact that the debate in the committees is not about the federation but about the division of powers between the federation and the republics. The situation prompted him to make the comment that, as the federation is not to have its own radio [according to the media bill proposed by the Slovak side], the question arises whether it has the right to have its own parliament.

In the end, the situation calmed down and the deputies started to discuss the six specific changes which the Czech National Council added to the original draft [worked out by the three governments]. Here, too, sparks were flying—over the rotation of citizens of the two republics in the post of state bank governor, over whether the federation should have the right to express its opinion on the rights of ethnic minorities, in the interest of basic unity of the legal order, etc. A calmer situation, however, still does not mean clear skies. Members of the Planning and Budget Committees alone have proposed 35 alterations to the draft law on the division of powers, which will be discussed in the parliament's plenum next week (probably on Tuesday)....

Press Comments on Threat of Power-Sharing Crisis

AU1212145390

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers on 8 and 10 December publish commentaries ranging between 400 and 4000 words on the threat of a constitutional crisis in Czechoslovakia as a result of Czech-Slovak disagreements regarding the division of powers between the federal and republican governments.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 8 December on page 2 carries a 600-word Igor Cibula commentary entitled "Partnership Without Federalist Paternalism; Czechoslovak Federation on the Threshold of a Constitutional Crisis." Cibula sees the federation "on the threshold of a constitutional crisis." This, he says, is the result of the "constellation" in the Federal Assembly, which indicates that the bill on power sharing will not be passed in the form in which it was approved by the three governments and the Slovak National Council (SNR). Cibula believes that "it is particularly the right wing in Civic Forum, led by Vaclav Klaus, which underrates the resolve of Slovak politicians to adhere to the philosophy agreed upon in Trencianske Teplice that the sovereignty of the national republics is original and the federation's sovereignty is derived from it."

Cibula goes on to say that, contrary to the claim of "Czechoslovakist Pragocentrists," Slovakia does not want to break away from the federation. He warns, however, that "in an extreme situation the SNR will approve the priority of its own laws over the laws of the federation," without revealing what he means by an "extreme situation." According to the author, the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks can only be "productive" if "a relation of partnership between the two republics, devoid of federalist paternalism, is guaranteed."

Cibula continues: "Such a partnership will have good prospects as long as the followers of Klaus do not succeed in ridding Petr Pithart of his present position in the Czech political representation. The fate of the Civic Forum chairman himself is at stake in this context. Vaclav Klaus has lost credibility in Slovakia as a member of the Federal Government by his questioning, along with some other federal ministers, of the agreed principles of arranging relations between the republics. The comment about the loss of credibility applies also to Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa, whose approach to the contentious issues regarding the federation conforms with the Civic Forum's doctrine of the constitutional setup, a doctrine which runs counter to the 'Chance for Slovakia' [the election slogan of the Slovak Public Against Violence movement]."

In concluding, Cibula suggests that, in view of the latest developments, the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement ought to "take stock" of the results of its coalition with the Civic Forum and "raise the question of who will replace Marian Calfa in his present post because of his failure in this post as a VPN representative." He believes that a failure by the VPN leadership to become active on these two issues could be exploited by the Christian Democrats.

On the same page, NARODNA OBRODA carries a 1,000-word Gabriel Sajdak commentary entitled "Where To Seek the Chance for Slovakia?" The commentary questions, among other things, the "quality" of Slovakia's representation in the federal bodies, focusing its criticism on Prime Minister Calfa. Sajdak says that "the interests and rights of the citizens of the Slovak Republic in the Czechoslovak federation ought to be guaranteed, apart from the Slovak Republic Government, by Slovakia's political representatives in federal bodies." This is not the case, in his view, because "a qualified representation of Slovakia in federal bodies is nonexistent." Sajdak refers, in particular, to the "total 'colorlessness' of the federal prime minister, whose method of identifying with the interests of his own (sic!) nation, together with his known [communist] past, would in an advanced federal democracy be a sufficient reason for his 'being entrusted with other tasks'." Sajdak wonders whether Calfa's lukewarm attitude to national interests is a "residue of communist internationalism."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 8 December on page 1 carries a 400-word David Smoljak commentary entitled "Scotch Douche." The commentator expresses doubts about the possibility of a solution to the Czech-Slovak dispute, in view of the divergent "philosophies" espoused by the two sides. As he points out "one can hardly imagine a solution to practical issues under one roof which one side considers to be the native home while the other regards it as a handy shelter for one night, before it stops raining outside." Smoljak believes that, as long as the disharmony of the two philosophies continues, there will be no end to "surprises, exasperation, and bitterness."

Similar skepticism is expressed by Robert Kotian in Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 8 December on pages 1 and 2, in an article entitled "Twilight?" Commenting on the statements made by the Czech, Slovak, and federal prime ministers on 7 December, Kotian says that the "common state" is facing the most serious crisis since last year's revolution. He doubts that a reasonable solution can be found "in a situation when the two sides are allergic to one another, seeing evil intentions behind everything."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 8 December on page 1 carries 500-word Libor Sevcik commentary entitled "Divorce." Sevcik says that the Federal Assembly debate on the division of powers "might generate a very dangerous crisis" if either the Czech or Slovak side disapprove of the outcome. Nevertheless, he appeals to the Federal Assembly deputies not to "give in" to pressure, despite the "somber growling heard from Bratislava." He says: "The policy of eternal concessions for the sake of preserving at least something was always detrimental to us in the past. Our nations always had to pay for them; one concession always set off an avalanche of others. The result is moral and economic misery in which we are at present and which will only deteriorate through a possible further evacuation of positions. There is a limit beyond which one cannot retreat without threatening one's existence. For the federation the question of powers is one of them."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 10 December on page 1 carries a 900-word Jiri Hanak commentary entitled "Between Prague and Bratislava." According to the author, "what is taking place between Prague and Bratislava is certainly not a war between Slovaks and Czechs, it is not even a war of the Slovaks with the federation. It is a crusade by a part of the Slovak political representation against the 'rest' of the Czechoslovak republic. Although 83 percent of the population of this country wish to live in a common state, the men from the Danube are ready to tear this common state into two only if they achieve their objectives. Some seek to satisfy their personal ambitions, some to fulfill their ideas about their own greatness, some are out for some kind of a historical revenge. All these motives can be found in that combative company."

Hanak continues: "On Friday [7 December] Prime Minister Meciar said that there is nowhere to retreat. This is understandable psychologically. If one does not want to retreat, one really has nowhere to retreat. It is once again the federation which is to retreat. The last half a year of bickering over the division of powers has sufficiently taught us where any concessions to the Bratislava team lead: to further demands from which there is 'no retreat'.... Even in the last few days the Bratislava prime minister did not back away even one inch from this tested method. He has already named several ministers whom he does not want to see in the Federal Government: Prime Minister Calfa, Klaus, Dlouhy, and Vavrousek. If one makes another concession to him today, the next demand is already evident—confederation. Next will come a mere customs union. And what will come then?"

Commenting on the Slovak prime minister's insistence that the Federal Assembly must pass the bill on power sharing in the form in which it was approved by the SNR, Hanak observes that this indicates Meciar's contempt for the parliament and his wish that it "return to the role which it played prior to November 1989 when it was something between a theater and a museum." He voices the "confidence" that the deputies will not let themselves be influenced by this "pressure" and will decide according to their "best conscience."

In concluding, Hanak "does not rule out" a "dramatic development" of the situation, including the fall of the Federal Government and a paralysis of the Federal Assembly. This would mean new elections "probably sometimes in the spring." He believes that the extreme right and the extreme left would profit from new elections and that "most likely, Prime Minister Meciar would no longer be prime minister because representatives of forces that have been hiding behind him so far and for whom he so unscrupulously paves the road will no longer need him."

On the same page, LIDOVE NOVINY carries a 400-word Jan Dobrovsky commentary entitled "Go! Go!" The commentary takes issue with the statement made by Jozef Kucerak, deputy Slovak prime minister, in the constitutional and legal affairs committees of the Federal Assembly on 7 December. According to Dobrovsky, Kucerak warned the Federal Assembly deputies that they will decide "whether there will be a federation or not. Your power is enormous, but only as long as there is a federation." Should the Federal Assembly "violate certain principles" on which Slovakia insists, the SNR could, according to Kucerak, "pass a different resolution." Dobrovsky wonders why there have not been any protests against Kucerak's statement, which he views as "hazardous" and "politically irresponsible." Dobrovsky observes: "It is a serious matter when someone threatens with the disintegration of the state and when, moreover, he blackmails deputies to the legislative body, their voters, and, implicitly, the people."

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 10 December on page 1 carries a 700-word Petr Stepanek commentary entitled "Is the Federation Hanging on a Thread?" The commentator accuses Czechoslovak politicians of "dramatizing the situation" at a time when "the exact opposite is needed." Commenting on the statements made by leading Czechoslovak politicians on 7 December, Stepanek says that "the IMF mission [currently in the country] must have wondered and President Masaryk must have been turning in his grave." He fears that, if the "policy of absurd pressures, inability to come to an agreement at least within coalitions, politicking, and mutual recrimination" continues, Czechoslovak children may have to learn "a new national anthem instead of Christmas carols this year." Stepanek also expresses his relief at the fact that, at its session on 8 December, the SNR did not declare the precedence of its own laws over those of the federation as some people expected. "A stalemate is preferable to a premature checkmate," the commentator says.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 10 December on page 3 carries a 500-word Igor Cibula commentary entitled "Potential Trust in Pithart." The commentator praises Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart's understanding attitude toward Slovakia, saying that he is the only Czech politician "patiently seeking the limits of mutual tolerance." According to Cibula "not even President Vaclav Havel is endowed with Pithart's gift to place oneself above the traditional historical framework of Czech-Slovak relations without removing oneself from the harsh reality and escaping to visions. He has never become a prisoner of his own 'dissident ghetto' and therefore accepts all realities as they are and not as they should be according to his own ideas."

Because of Pithart's "dispositions" and Slovaks' trust in him, Cibula says, the Czech prime minister "holds in his hands one of the keys to the solution of the problems of the federation's survival."

Prague PRACE in Czech on 10 December on page 2 carries a 600-word Ivan Cervenka, Kazimir Janoska commentary entitled "To Believe or Not To Believe." The commentators deal with Slovak Prime Minister Meciar's 7 December statements, which they interpret as "heavy barrage" against his Czech and federal partners. They point out that "the Slovak prime minister apparently mistakes legislative for executive power when he insists unconditionally that the Federal Assembly pass the power sharing bill in the form approved by the governments." They explain the "ultimatums" declared by Meciar to the Federal Assembly and his "attacks on the Federal Government" with his "notion of the federation, under which the federation would have a purely formal character. All substantial matters would be decided by two partners or, to be more precise, by only one of them—the more stubborn and willful of the two."

In concluding, the authors wonder what support Meciar has in his own political movement, the VPN. They contrast the expression of support for Meciar in the VPN Council statement of 8 December with the statement by Fedor Gal, chairman of the VPN Council, at the Civic Forum meeting in Olomouc a day later that "We realize that pressure of any kind does not benefit our interests." They ask which of the two contradictory statements is to be believed.

Czech Deputies' Jurisdiction Law Fears Outlined

AU1212151390 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 10 Dec 90 p 1

[Interview with Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Karel Hvizdala; place and date not given: "The Czech Deputies' Fears"]

[Text] [Hvizdala] Recently I have been talking to a number of people who think that no matter what the Czech Government does, the Slovak side will merely use this to take further steps toward separation. What do you think of this opinion?

[Calfa] A number of suggestions issued from the various Federal Assembly committees during discussions on the draft changes to the constitutional law on dividing jurisdiction between the republics and the federation. These suggestions were discussed on Friday [7 December] in the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees in the presence of representatives from the Slovak Government. Certain amendments were made which were accepted by the committees. However, it also seems that there is a certain group of deputies in the Federal Assembly which is not very interested in accepting this draft. The Slovak side is doubtful about how the discussions in the Federal Assembly will turn out and incontrovertibly wants this law to be adopted the way it was discussed in the committees. Paradoxically, the situation is such that fears are being expressed by some Czech deputies.

[Hvizdala] Could you tell us what you mean by "some deputies"?

[Calfa] They are—as Public Against Violence movement deputies have told me—some of the Civic Forum deputies to whom the concept of transferring authority to the republics seems rather incorrect.

[Hvizdala] You also feel—as you have said—that the Slovak side is constantly speaking in connection with this law on the federation, but, on the other hand, is creating an atmosphere against the federation....

[Calfa] I feel this and am still of the same opinion. I feel that strong expressions do not belong to the atmosphere of consensus. I spoke about this on Friday at a Public Against Violence movement meeting in Bratislava. I was told that these were statements made unofficially in interviews not meant to be made public. That is, the issue involves the violation of an agreement which,

however, does not take away an individual's responsibility for what he said. All of these disagreements result from an atmosphere created by someone who does not like this issue.

[Hvizdala] How does the Federal Government stand on this issue?

[Calfa] The draft, which will be discussed in the Federal Assembly, has been approved by the Federal Government. Its members, in the committees in particular, tried to clarify all the passages contained in the submitted law. They tried to give the deputies enough information for them to understand why the government approved this law in practically the same form as it was approved in the Slovak National Council. The Federal Government is of the opinion that the Federal Assembly should take the Federal Government's point of view into consideration.

Havel Discusses Topical Domestic Political Issues

AU1212153990 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 7 Dec 90 pp 1,5

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by Vladimir Mlynar and Jaroslav Veis, LIDOVE NOVINY reporters; place and date not given: "It Would Be Easier To Write About Politics"; first paragraph is LIDOVE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] **Recently, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel granted LIDOVE NOVINY an interview, in which he responded to questions on topical political issues.**

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Mr. President, representatives of the Civic Forum [OF] will meet in Olomouc on Saturday [15 December]; Vaclav Klaus has already made it plain that he imagines the OF's future in the form of a right-wing political party. How do you, as one of the founders of the OF, feel about his concept?

[Havel] I have a feeling that Vaclav Klaus is right in one thing. The original idea of an all-encompassing civic community is outdated. Personally, I was convinced that this would occur much sooner, even before the June elections.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Nevertheless, you were defending the original concept of the OF much longer.

[Havel] I did not defend it, I was explaining the concept. I perceived the OF as a temporary so-called revolutionary formation, as a broad antitotalitarian community which, for some time, would act as a counterbalance to the totalitarian structures, and will only be a bridge to the true political plurality. The developments, however, took a some what different course than I expected. Already before the elections, the OF began to behave like a party and it began to be obvious that some differentiation must take place. I was emphasizing the need for a certain deobfuscation of the OF because—due to its all-encompassing character—it started to be rather unclear and immobile. At the time, I supported the idea of its reinforcement. If this takes place on one side of the opinion spectrum, it is probably better than to hold onto the unspecified general character at any price. Moreover, it will also accelerate the formation of other political subjects and the development of a natural political spectrum. I am convinced that if the development takes this course, it is better to accelerate it than to restrain it. Today, it still is possible to reach an agreement regarding the movement's political differentiation into various "sub-subjects." In a year's time, it could happen that a legal action would be taken over the name OF, as happened with Solidarnosc in Poland.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Were you surprised by its right orientation?

[Havel] Not very much, the current atmosphere is like that. One cannot say, however, that the right-wing sentiments permeated the entire society. This atmosphere is, above all, in political representation at various levels, in the press, in the local OFs, and many leaders demonstrate the climate as well. All this contributes to an optical impression that it is a society-wide situation, which, of course, is not true. It is something that could be denoted as a political atmosphere.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] In this connection, criticism can be heard of some contemporary politicians for what they did in the 1950s or for their left-wing and communist past. At one time, you wrote about Frantisek Kriegel that he was basically a tragic figure. Do you think that what you wrote about him could be applied to the entire generation?

[Havel] I would not dare to make global pronouncements about entire generations or similar sets of people. On the other hand, I cannot very well imagine a political life without numerous people who passed through the communist party and who rid themselves of their former illusions. To name a few, there are Petr Pithart, Jiri Dienstbier, Pavel Rychetsky, Vladimir Dlouhy, and others. I am an opponent of any principle of collective guilt, that whoever has been in the communist party should not get another chance. That is an un-Christian attitude because everybody should have a chance. I feel justified in saying this already because I was one of the few who in 1968 publicly pointed out the resistance in the 1950s, the democratic exile, and the necessity of its rehabilitation. This was still a heresy at the time of the Prague Spring.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Of course, the generation of the 1950's consists also of those who were on the other side, i.e., those who suffered. Today, many of them feel hard done by.

[Havel] I understand this psychologically but, at the same time, I am trying to counterbalance this in my view. The restitution law, the law on extrajudicial rehabilitation, that is something which does not exist in any other postcommunist country. It is a difficult, tough

time, but an idea is present in our politics from the very beginning that the origin of all evil lies in 1948 and not only in 1968.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Six years ago, in the essay Politics and Conscience, you wrote: I am an advocate of "antipolitical politics," i.e., politics not as a tool of power and manipulation with power, or as a cybernetic control of people, or as an art of expediency, practice, and intrigues, but rather as one of the possibilities for seeking and capturing the meaning of life, how to protect it and how to serve it, politics as applied ethics, as a service to truth, as intrinsically human concern for one's neighbor, a concern that follows human standards. To what degree, do you, as a practitioner of power, follow your own credo?

[Havel] It would be great, it went like that in politics. I am not giving up this ideal, and do everything to follow it myself. Of course, it would be much easier to write about politics as an independent intellectual, than to implement it in practice. I believe, however, that I have not given up my ideal even though in its practical implementation I often have to scheme and maneuver in many ways. It is connected with something I would call political taste. I am all the time more convinced of the importance of such an apolitical matter as taste i.e., the feeling for the length of a speech on any given occasion, what to mention so that one tells the truth without offending the partner, how and when to interfere. It is a matter of instinct, the application of which actually is a kind of a strategy for dealing with people. I do not believe that this violates the principal ideal. It is also a question of whether the politician endeavors to improve the operation of society or whether his concern is just power.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Certainly, but every politician claims that he is trying to fulfill his ideal.

[Havel] Yes, every politician says that his only concern is the issue on hand. It is a function of the same instinct to recognize whether he is telling the truth.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Does that mean that you consider instinct to be the key to political activity.

[Havel] No, a politician who is only instinctive would be a misfortune. Instinct is only a part of politics; it is not its principal key.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] You, yourself, however, meet with perhaps too "practical" politicians, who do not share your philosophy. How do you deal with them?

[Havel] We have to work with such people as they are. I, too, must respect the mandate of individual politicians. I tell them what I think, but in a way that he, whoever it is, is able to accept my argument. It is easy to insult but it is not productive.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The weakness of democracy is its decency toward the indecent. Does decency work with politicians who "lack decency?"

[Havel] Of course, the decent are always at a disadvantage, but they also have one advantage. In each person, even in the most evil one, is hidden a kind of a remainder of the sense of decency. When people sense in a politician something good, after all, it will gain him some sympathy. This, then, can serve as a certain counterbalance to the "skills" of those who know no scruples.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Of course, there are people who require the government of a strong hand and politicians who would be willing to oblige.

[Havel] I have contemplated this many times. For decades our society has been used to being led by some overseer who precisely delimited the bounds of its life. It reminds me of prison. We learned to move precisely and well in a designated space, we knew how far one can go, and where one hits the wall. Suddenly, we are free, and similarly to many discharged prisoners, we panic. We do not know where the limits are, there is nothing to hold onto, it seems that everything is permitted. A majority of prisoners encounters a certain post-prison syndrome, a need to return somewhere, where they can orientate themselves—that is to prison. We are now also in the post-prison state and it is logical that voices resound calling for some better, enlightened analogy of that, in which we lived well, i.e., "the government of a strong hand." It is occurring in all post-communist countries and apparently it is a necessary stage in the development. I, personally, led by the interests of the republic and by my own responsibility, will be able to fortify and focus my own stand, but only to a certain limit. I will never be a Bonaparte.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] What is the limit?

[Havel] The first half of next year may already bring such situations. I want to carry the burden of the task I undertook by my presidential oath as well as I will be able to do. Nobody can expect from me, however, that I will be an enlightened dictator.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] What about the Polish example, where one can see how easily can an irrational element in the form of Mr. Tyminski enter politics.

[Havel] The irrational element is not so much Mr. Tyminski as the 23 percent votes he received. Apparently the society in shock and under stress seeks a savior who may come from Peru or from Mars. The main thing is that it is somebody new. Psychologically, it is understandable.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] But what should one do about it? How can one prevent such an irrationality?

[Havel] I believe that nations must pass through everything through which they are supposed to pass. Therefore, I have to events such, I would say, an uneventful fatalist attitude. One cannot achieve that nations would skip some phases of development, and the time of false Messiahs apparently is one of them. I will give you another example: Slovakia. A majority of Slovaks want

the federation but, at the same time, they feel the chance that for the first time in history their nation could somehow constitutionally express their identity. The Slovak nation must pass through this stage. It should pass through this stage very fast because the future of Europe lies in non-national entities.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Do you believe that a development like that in Poland could take place in Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] I do not think so. One can observe in Czechoslovakia a certain self-preservation reflex. Always when we rush forth to ruin—and that has happened several times in the last year—we stop at the last moment, at the edge of the abyss as it were, and suddenly we become reasonable. Messiahs will appear, we already have one, a rather marginal and picaresque one, and there will be others, more significant, but society will stop at the critical moment, its self-preservation reflex will kick in.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] You mentioned the issue of Slovakia. What do you think of the slogan that only strong republics can form a strong federation? Would not the opposite be true, that strong republics would form a weak federation?

[Havel] At the last meeting with the prime ministers, I proposed that we abstain from the academic question of what comes first, the republics or the federation. It has been discussed for six month and this pseudophilosophizing should end. Our state was formed as a unitarian state on the basis of an agreement of two nations, and this unitarian state then decided to transform itself into a federation. The federation, however, continued to operate as a unitarian state, and on top of that also as a totalitarian state for full twenty years, and now we are searching for what its real form should be like. The incessant disputes about whether the federation is derived from the republics or the other way around, are beginning to be somewhat absurd, while the initial fundamental will of two nations to live together is real. It is necessary to be practical now and not to debate whether the chicken or the egg came first.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Can you imagine any other constitutional arrangement of the state besides the present arrangement?

[Havel] A contemplation appeared recently about a union-type arrangement, in which Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and perhaps the capital of Prague would be the union lands, and then in Slovakia there would be separate West and East Slovakia, for the latter demonstrably has a different mental identity from the former, and particularly from Bratislava. This model would probably function better in practice than the present one. It cannot, however, be realized. At least not at this time because in Slovakia any such thought would give the impression that the Czechs want to split the Slovak nation in halves in order to subjugate it even more. Perhaps, some time in the future. It is not possible at present.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] In the past, however, you, yourself, have claimed that politics is the art of the impossible.

[Havel] We have already done some impossible things, and we will do some more, but I would not attempt this one very soon. As regards the variant of the break-up into two republics, of course, one can imagine that, however, with the proviso that it would delay the development of both by about 15 years. It would cause a lot of problems concerning the status of our state as a legal subject including the borders, and it would destabilize the whole of Europe. One could imagine one further alternative, namely that the integrating processes in Europe will move so fast that our state, as a subject in the integrated Europe, will "dissolve" relatively fast to the point at which the question that exasperates us today will seem to be absolutely irrelevant.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Would it not be possible at present for some federal political force to act as a positive authority?

[Havel] Currently, there are two federal political forces, the Communist Party and the Romany Civic Initiative. If other civic parties organized on federal basis, it would be good. However, it requires time. It certainly would contribute to the stabilization both in the country and in the federal bodies.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Thus far, the trade unions, so vital in Poland, have not become an important factor. There are no strong personalities among the trade union leaders. Petr Miller, who was considered by many to be our Walesa, vanished in his ministerial post. How do you explain the fact that our trade union is almost ridiculous?

[Havel] I would not say that it is ridiculous. It may be naive and inexperienced in many respects. The fact that it did not play such a role as the trade union in Poland is given, among other things, by the absence in Czechoslovakia of the poverty and social shocks equal to those in Poland. Let us, however, take account of the good—for example, that the trade unions were among the few institutions that were rapidly able to find their new form and come to terms with their past.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Nevertheless, when they decided to influence the decisions on new laws, they have not done so well.

[Havel] The trade unions were right to notice that in the West the great trade-union centers play a political role. Hence, they want to do the same. The fact that occasionally they are not quite certain how to do this in practice is something else. Nonetheless, already the fact that they demand to participate in economic and social politics is understandable and it is the general practice.

In this context, we must realize one more thing. The market economy is, I believe, a proven method of operation of economic life but not its content or goal. It is the engine, which is to supply power for the economy. Today, we live in an atmosphere of making a fetish out

of the market economy, as if the meaning of history were in the market. The cult of the market economy can be observed particularly in Bohemia, less in Slovakia. You can read in the paper whether this or that is sufficiently market oriented but you cannot read anywhere that it is just a tool, a form of enterprise operation. Very little is written about what the strategy of our economy as a whole should be like, the structure of the energy system and industry, which branches of industry and which markets to choose, or what should be the "content" orientation of our economy. Hence, in this environment of the cult of market orientation, anybody who mentions anything else is considered to be a potential cryptocommunist or socialist. It is not at all bad if the trade unions appear as a counterbalance to this. It is a natural protection of the society and, among other things, it prevents us from going from one extreme to another. It also helps the earlier mentioned self-preservation reflex, which always stops us just a step before the edge of an abyss.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Charter 77, at least as viewed from the outside, has arrived at a certain crisis. You were among its first spokesmen and during the entire 13 years you were its guiding spirit. Today, you and other foremost chartists occupy important state posts. Thereby, the dialogue with power, which the Charter 77 sought, lost its meaning. How do you foresee the future of Charter 77? Do you miss an intellectual opposition like that of the former dissidents?

[Havel] I have always emphasized that regimes may change but the idea of Charter 77 perseveres. Its demand for the observance of human rights is valid permanently. Various regimes violate human rights in different ways, some more, some less, but never and nowhere are they observed absolutely. Therefore, the charter principle has a permanent meaning. If the charter is in a crisis, then the reason is what you said already: a majority of the chartists transferred to the state posts and do not have any time to give to the charter. However, new people may appear. The charter still has the predicate to be a moral correlation to power. So far, I cannot see any other institutional form of an ethical mirror; neither the present political parties nor the newspapers play this role. The task is done only by individual voices and articles. Undoubtedly, an intellectual and ethical correlation to power will appear in time. LIDOVE NOVINY is one of the places where it could originate. They have certain prerequisites for this role. And so does the weekly RESPEKT. I read it regularly from cover to cover, and appreciate the way it maps the problems we encounter. I, personally, endeavor to conduct a permanent dialogue with my collaborators, with politicians, with all kinds of people, and, above all, with myself. My old friends mean a lot to me, those who do not have any political posts and are outside everyday politics. They form for me something like a moral horizon.

Moravians Offer To Mediate Jurisdiction Dispute

AU1212155690 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 10 Dec 90 p 8

[CTK report: "A Solution or a Complication?"]

[Text] Representatives from the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia [HSD-SMS] as "Moravians and representatives of the largest Moravian movement" have offered to assume the role of mediators "in order to find a constructive solution to the contentious constitutional and national-economic issues." This offer is contained in a letter sent to Prime Ministers Marian Calfa, Petr Pithart, and Vladimir Meciar and also to Czech National Council Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova, and Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko.

The letter also appeals to representatives of the federation and both national republics to jointly seek and to emphasize with goodwill what unites all the citizens of our state and not what divides them.

The authors of the letter—its signatories are Boleslav Barta, HSD-SMS chairman, and Antonin Saitz, chairman of the HSD-SMS assembly of district spokesmen—are of the opinion that the reason for the disputes lies in "the state's two imperfectly based communist—and, therefore, nonidentical—entities." They again recall their idea of "a state of Czechs, Slovaks, Moravians, and Silesians based on a tripartite federal arrangement, the so-called Federal Republic of Czechoslovakia."

The letter states, among other things, that the separation of Slovakia or a confederation—that is, an association of sovereign states based not on a common constitution, but merely on a state treaty between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic—would be a solution to the detriment of all citizens of the current Czech and Slovak Federative Republic.

Slovak Prime Minister Views Approved Power Law

LD1212224690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Alica Bielikova at the Federal Assembly in Prague on 12 December—recorded]

[Text] [Bielikova] Mr. Prime Minister, the law is approved. Do you feel relieved?

[Meciar] Two grave dangers were removed: One, that the political parties might not have agreed and consented about joint conclusions, and consequently there would be a crisis in all Federal institutions, and that would partially shake also republics' institutions. The second, which for me is more frightening, was that as a result of disinformation and differing news, the relations between citizens of one or the other state might have been violated. That would be the main risk. As these two do not threaten us any longer, we can be quite happy about

the result. I appreciate the work of everybody who took part in the law's preparation; I know what preceded it and what an enormous job it was. I also appreciate the stance of deputies in these last two days when all groups were working feverishly toward arriving at an agreement and being able to present a positive result. I also appreciate the speech of Mr. President Havel, although I could not quite agree with some of its passages, but his entry and his willingness to take on himself further risks of political life helped in its own way to understand the seriousness of this situation, because it was serious in this room and also outside it. It seems that we also have made certain progress toward the understanding that when the constitutions are drafted, we must comprehend each other even better. We have established ourselves on a certain path and we know how to continue following it. The preparation of the constitutions will be a new table with a big heap of problems, but perhaps understanding them will be simpler.

[Bielikova] We all know that the path toward passing this law was very difficult. The discussion was very lengthy; the chairman said that it was the longest discussion in the Federal Assembly's history. The endorsement itself, however, was quite smooth and quick. Do you think that this proves the saying that hard work at the exercise field makes the battle easy?

[Meciar] The process of endorsement was a result of agreements which were actually concluded last night and this morning, and that made the vote taking easier. Therefore we should not think it was automatic. I was the person who first proposed this law, as its autho., to the Czech Government and to the Federal Government. I knew the project from the beginning to the end. I have no reason to be dissatisfied. However, I know that distrust, doubts, and sometimes (?other political interest) caused many problems. You might have noticed that in the last two weeks I had quite a hard time due to some Czech media and some Czech politicians. But now, it is like after every fight, we shall take a shower and we shall go on.

[Bielikova] Do you think that the people who were critical or who seemed from what they were saying not to have sufficient information or seemed to lack understanding of what the Slovaks want, are not convinced to the contrary? Do you think that they have changed their views?

[Meciar] I do not think that in the least. I am more inclined to think that those doubts were not based on their thinking evil thoughts about us Slovaks. In these two days I have come to understand that the political scene and the differentation of political forces in the Czech Republic today is so open and pressing that the doubts they expressed about us were in a certain way a reflection of internal political distribution of forces in the Czech Republic and of differentation of political views, opinions, and interests of various groups which will create political parties, clubs, or some other movements. This developmen: is understandable. We in a certain way found ourselves in the middle of all this and in the diversity of political parties and movements that existed here, we might have, with our unilateral orientation, limited the flow of information to the others out of lack of knowledge of the situation. This was how we saw it in these two days with my friends, and I think that this is how we succeeded in achieving the consensus. You know there were many doubts. In the Czech Republic many people wondered whether we did not want to create a Slovak state. To tell the truth, there are some people also in Slovakia who wonder whether the Czech side is not playing a game to make us separate so the blame will rest on us.

This was the basic doubt. Then there are doubts with regard to the state set-up, whether it should be a federation, and federation can have various forms. For example, as you may have noticed, deputies have been saying that Europe is becoming integrated these days, and what should we do. We however must proceed from the level at which we find ourselves at present and where Europe was 20 years ago. The integration processes also started there in this way, and they got somewhere. These deputies, however, want us today to be where Europe is now, and this is impossible without a development of the rest of the social relations. This is slightly worrying. Then the issues of the forms of confederation and federation, of firm or loose federation, were discussed, and many other things followed from this. What happened to some extent was that the economists were putting forward a proposal on how to make the state administration deal more with the economy.

The basic idea with which we came with Vice Minister Jozef Kucerak to Trencianske Teplice was that the state administration should be separated from the economy, that it should be an administrator and stop managing enterprises; it should let them live on their own and make it possible for them to tear themselves off; and such organizatonal structures should be created that there will be nobody who would prescribe the plan, or have the say bonuses to managers, and nobody would tell them about everything—where to develop and where not—and make them all bankrupt in a planned manner.

As you may have noticed, many measures directed at shifting responsibilities toward the republics are actually only the first step toward taking the economic function away from the federal government. This must be followed by efficient steps toward taking the economic functions away from the republics because the first time I said that we should abolish the Ministry of Foreign Trade and break up its monopoly, it caused a storm of protest and cries about what nonsense Meciar was talking, but today every bisnessman will agree that without our own enterprising activities abroad there will be no foreign trade, there will be no foreign investment in our country, and many other things.

The newly adopted law can also be assessed from foreign political standpoints. First, we told everybody who came to visit us that we shall be a joint state—I used the

sentence that we are a married couple who know that they must be together, they want to be together but quarrel about the way how to manage their household. This was proven right. Second, this standpoint has shown that it is necessary for foreign countries also to learn to understand Slovakia and the Czech lands. They took us as two subjects creating a joint politics with joint will. It is necessary to understand us too. However, I think that those people who are concerned about whether we are a country in which their money will be safe, they will now feel more certain that it probably will be, and those who sincerely want to do business with us might be happier with regard to the political situation, believing that more positive results will be achieved. Naturally it must also be considered that on both the Czech and Slovak sides there are many subjects in politics and there are many concepts and ideas there. Therefore it is necessary to stop drawing conclusions from somebody saying something somewhere and thinking that because he is a member of a certain party, this is the view of the whole party, if he is a member of the government, this is a view of the entire government; people should not reach general conclusions or think up breakdown scenarios.

If I am to speak about scenarios for breakdowns, we also have envisaged a few. I am glad that the could all be filed away, and we can forget what we thought.

[Bielikova] Mr. Prime Minister, tell me now: Do you feel like galushkas [Slovak national dish], Czech beer, or champagne?

[Meciar] You know my stomach is so tense that I would be glad if I had 10 minutes to calm myself down and think it all over because I was well aware of the consequences if the law was not passed. The unrest at home is great. We feel that to make a federation really common, it is not enough to have a shared state emblem and flag. It must have a joint function. Further changes in the structures of bodies must take place. The Constitution will take care of that. I do not feel that this is a completed stage. I can only say that one act has finished, the curtain has fallen, we applauded ourselves on our own, and tomorrow we are going to work.

[Bielikova] It is an important moment and should be celebrated.

[Meciar] I always celebrate only by myself. I prefer to celebrate things on my own. When these important changes were prepared and we had those very bad appeals from Prague, I was getting myself prepared by disappearing for half a day in the forest and I was thinking there, what shall we do for goodness sake if it all fails. The time in the forest was usefully spent, nature is wonderful but I did not need to implement any of my ideas, which makes me very, very happy.

Carnogursky on Recent Elections, Czech Tensions

AU1112110490 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 11 Dec 90 p 5

[Interview with Jan Carnogursky, deputy prime minister of the Slovak Government and chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), by Jindrich Lion; place and date not given: "We Are Two Peoples"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Lion] How do you explain the surprise results of the Christian Democratic Party [KDS] in recent elections? In parliamentary elections pollsters predicted a victory for your party, but the Public Against Violence [VPN] received more votes than you. In recent local elections, pollsters expected losses for your party, even in comparison with the National Party, but you won.

[Carnogursky] At the time we were not national enough, and so 13 percent voted for the extremist National Party. Now people have realized that this does not get them anywhere, and so they supported us. There are hardly any former communists among our ranks. For this reason, many supporters of the VPN voted for us.

[Lion] In the current controversies between the Czechs and Slovaks, you have repeatedly stated that "for the time being" you advocate remaining within the joint federative republic. Is this populist tactics to win over supporters of the National Party?

[Carnogursky] No. We do not want to slash Czechoslovakia, but we are two peoples, even if we are very close. We would like to enter the common Europe not as a small federative republic but as an independent Slovakia. I know that Europe wants to accept us a uniform state, and therefore we do not know how things will develop. Even if we seem to have become estranged from the Czechs, we will have common interests in Europe and always cooperate closely—either within one state or as independent states.

[Lion] How do you see future cooperation with Austria?

[Carnogursky] The old monarchy is a historical concept for me. For me there are no emotions attached to it. Present-day Austria has friendly relations with Czechoslovakia. It opened its doors to signers of Charter 77 and it used to be a transit place for many of our refugees. It represents a bridge to Western Europe. My son is studying at Vienna University, after he was rejected by our university because of his father. Austria is a friendly country in every respect, with which we want to cooperate closely in the future as well.

VPN Leader Against Special Presidential Powers

AU1212124390 Prague CTK in English 2049 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Chairman of the Slovak movement Public Against Violence (VPN) Fedor Gal told CTK today he had expected Czechoslovak President

Vaclav Havel to join the discussion on the law on power-sharing in the federal parliament only in the moment of a possible crisis situation, and not before debate on the law starts.

The chairman of the strongest Slovak parliament force was of the opinion that the question of enacting a Constitutional Court and referendum should be discussed only after the power-sharing law is approved.

Commenting on Havel's proposal to extend his presidential powers, Gal said he could see no reason for strengthening the presidential powers in a normally functioning democracy or in countries seeking democracy.

The Czechoslovak president addressed the Federal Assembly this morning, one day before the parliament starts debating a bill amending the Constitutional Law on Czechoslovak Federation of 1968, amid fears that disputes over division of powers between the two national republics and the federation may cause a constitutional crisis.

Parliament Closes Loophole in Privatization Law

AU1212132390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Dec 90 pp 1,16

["(ha, jop)"-signed report: "Law on Small Privatization Amended"]

[Excerpts] Another parliamentary record fell at yesterday's joint meeting of the Federal Assembly chambers. The debate on the submitted draft amendment to the law on the so-called small privatization, which concerns only two articles of this law (one of which refers to the date of the law's coming into force) lasted two hours and 38 minutes and 21 deputies took the floor in its course.

The Federal Assembly has been compelled to take this unpopular but at this moment badly needed step [of amending a recently passed law] by the circumstance that state enterprises, budget-funded organizations, as well as cooperatives having the right to dispose of commercial premises are canceling lease contracts with state organizations operating in these premises. They are then leasing out the premises freed in this way to other citizens or foreign companies. Bribery is experiencing a renaissance in these cases. It needs to be added that this is happening in an absolutely legal way, by taking advantage of a legislative loophole—Article 12 of law No. 116 of 1990 [on the transfer of state-owned property to other legal or physical persons, known as "small privatization law"].

The consequences of this situation were pointedly explained by Jozef Baksay, who introduced the draft amendment to the law on behalf of a group of deputies. First, the number of business premises offered for sale in public auctions is being reduced. Second, the budgets of the republics are consequently deprived of (projected) revenues. And, third, groups of citizens are being put at an unwarranted advantage who exploit their connections to obtain property under exceptionally advantageous conditions. Self-evidently, the main motives of the privatization policy are getting completely lost in the process.

In concluding his speech, J. Baksay observed that the discovery of this loophole testifies to the economic thinking of our citizens, which shows that we need not have any fears about privatization and market economy. He added that the fact that an amendment is being proposed for a law immediately after its passing does not amount to an expression of the parliament's incompetence. Quite to the contrary, by approving the amendment deputies will prove their ability to swiftly respond to phenomena which automatically accompany the transition of our state from a non-economy to a functioning market economy. [passage omitted on the debate on the above draft amendment] The amendment to the law on the transfer of state-owned property to other legal or physical persons was approved. [passage omitted]

At their joint meeting yesterday, the Federal Assembly's People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations also acknowledged an interim report by the Commission for Investigating the Events of 17 November 1989. The meeting will continue on Monday [10 December].

Employment, Collective Bargaining Laws Approved

AU1012153990 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Dec 90 pp 1,4

["(ha,jop)"-signed report: "The First Threads of the Social Security Net"]

[Text] The ninth joint meeting of the Federal Assembly Chamber of the People and Chamber of Nations, dealing with the draft law on employment, the draft law on collective bargaining, and the draft amendment to the labor code, continued yesterday in Prague. Peter Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs, explained to deputies the basic framework of these legal regulations.

The law on employment declares the goal of full employment. Not as an obligation to work, but as the continuous creation of conditions for achieving this objective —in the same manner that is usual in developed countries, where the supply of labor exceeding the demand is considered one of the stimuli fueling economic and social changes.

Peter Miller stressed in his explanation that in drawing up this law, its architechts followed up on the documents of the International Labor Organization the charter of the European Communities, and other legal norms. He also provided details about the most discussed issues of this law. On the subject of job security regardless of age, he said: "In a market economy, employers stress productivity and the quality of skilled work, and therefore I do not see any reason why successful doctors, scientists, artists, designers, etc.—if they prefer to stay on the job to being retired—should be dismissed." He paid particular attention to the problems of the handicapped, which is an issue on which our legislation leaves much to be

desired. The state guarantees assistance free-of-charge in finding employment, retraining, or material assistance during the period of unemployment. The right to a suitable job with respect to health conditions will be guaranteed, yet there will be no guarantee that the job will correspond to the skills of the applicant. According to Minister P. Miller, such a guarantee would not encourage people to participate in retraining programs. He also spoke doubtfully about existing levels of skills, which in many cases will be rendered unusable under the conditions of a market economy. "A developed country understands retraining not as an admission of failure but as proof of the will to be successful," he stressed.

A total of 25 draft amendments were proposed in the dabate. With the exception of two they were rejected. A substantial change has been made only to section 16 of the law. This section applies to the group of people who have a full-time job but work for such a low salary that 50 or 60 percent of their salary [i.e. the sum they would be entitled to in the event of unemployment] represents less than 1,200 korunas [the newly determined subsistence minimum]. According to the new draft, their financial security must represent at least the lowest income guaranteed to an individual according to the law on social security (currently it is just 1,200 korunas). The same thing applies to persons having a part-time job.

The law on employment was passed after about four hours of debate. In this connection, it is worth mentioning what Deputy Jan Sokol stated: "In the commissions we have to contend with the absence of deputies who save their ideas for the plenary meeting. I would like to draw attention to the fact that draft amendments presented in plenum are the best way to pass bad laws. We have acquired quite enough experience of this during the short existence of the Federal Assembly. All the serious mistakes that took place here, took place at plenary meetings. I would like to express sincere thanks to those Federal Assembly deputies who have not presented any draft amendment today. I address their voters and ask them to appreciate this fact." The next legal regulation on the agenda was the draft law on collective bargaining.

On this subject P. Miller said that it is necessary to provide a scope for the free and democratic formulation of legal regulations on labor relations. State intervention must be limited to the minimum here. He drew deputies' attention to the fact that the draft was a result of complicated tripartite negotiations and of a consultation with experts from the International Labor Organization, the European Community, and the United States. The draft regulates only those forms of collective bargaining that are supposed to lead to the conclusion of collective agreements. These agreements may meet employees' requirements in a more favorable way than legal provisions do, and are concluded by a pertinent trade union organ also on behalf of those employees that are not organized in trade unions. Collective agreements may be concluded at the level of enterprises or a higher level. Agreements concluded at the level of enterprises must not contradict higher-level agreements, above all, with respect to wage requirements (an enterprise-level agreement must not fix better privileges than the higher-level agreement does), otherwise it is null and void.

The law also regulates disputes arising during negotiations about a collective agreement or during the period of its validity. Arbitrators elected by both sides participate in these disputes. If the parties cannot agree on the arbitrator, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs will designate the arbitrator. The law understands the strike to be an exceptional measure for solving disputes arising from collective bargaining. At the same time, the law explicitly names what strikes are illegal—for instance, strikes that were not preceded by negotiations in the presence of an arbitrator, or strikes putting life, health or property at risk, that is, strikes in health facilities or nuclear power plants, and so on. Participation in a strike will be treated (before a final decision is taken by a court) as leave without pay or compensation. Family allowances, or individual installments, will remain untouched, with the exception of financial support when caring for a sick family member. The employer may have recourse to a lock-out—which, also, is an exceptional measure for solving problems.

The law has passed (with one small amendment to the original draft). At 1730, that is, after the news deadline, deputies began to deal with the amendment to the labor code.

The joint meeting of the Federal Assembly Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations continues today. Its agenda includes the amendment to the privatization law, the amendment to the customs law, the bill on the handling and control of some kinds of goods and technologies, and the criminal law related to the latter.

Report on Inquiry of 17 Nov Events Presented

AU1012152190 Prague CTK in English 1740 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)— The parliamentary commission investigating the events of November 17, 1989, when a peaceful student demonstration in Prague was brutally suppressed by police, found out that posters and publications were printed between November 20 and December 3, 1989 with the aim to paralyze the growing civic activities after November 17.

In a report on the activities of the commission, its chairman Jiri Ruml (Civic Forum) stated that the publications which ran into tens of thousands of copies had been distributed throughout the country, most likely with the aid of the "StB" secret service.

The report said the commission had also found that the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, closely cooperating with the StB, organized from mid-1989 new forms of struggle against "anti-social forces". The project was ordered and approved by then Communist Party leader Milos Jakes.

The report also said that some members of the former parliamentary commission supervising investigations into the November 17 events had been StB agents. No attempt at delaying the inquiry or diverting it in some other direction had been proved but some facts indicate that the commission had been originally set up with the purpose of obscuring the investigation.

The commission interrogated former Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and former director of the International Organization of Journalists Milos Jakes, the son of the Communist Party leader.

Information contained in recently published materials about the background of November 17 events, discrediting the Charter 77 movement, which has been obtained from the author Miroslav Dolejsi, was submitted for an expertise as Dolejsi is suspected of not being its author at all as he had not corroborated his statements, the report said.

Deputy Burian Accused of Being Security Agent

AU1212191890 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 7 Dec 90 pp 1, 7

["kcr"-signed report: "Scandal in the Commission Investigating the Events of 17 November"]

[Excerpts] The true excitement of an unexpected revelation at the end of the parliament session was not caused by the first report by the commission investigating the events of 17 November read by Jiri Ruml, but by a letter from a recalled member of the commission, Deputy Petr Burian. Had he really been a secret collaborator of the State Security, as the official version has it, or is it a conspiracy of renowned dissidents, as the concerned person believes? [passage omitted]

Petr Burian, Charter 77 signatory, took the stand in the discussion, and announced that he is being politically blackmailed and denounced as a supposed collaborator of the State Security. These rumors are spread particularly in the circles of highly placed former dissidents and signatories of the Charter 77. Even before the parliamentary elections, he was pressed by P. Kucera and J. Urban of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center to give up his candidacy. In addition, P. Burian declared that already some time ago he met a person in the Palace of Culture not knowing it was State Security Captain Bielik. Without Burian's prior knowledge, this officer opened a file on him as a security agent. Only personal testimony by Captain Bielik prevented the elimination of Burian's name from the list of candidates. P. Burian believes the fact that identical rumors appear now are a result of efforts by some people to prevent him from accessing top secret documents. He complied with the request that he resign from the commission, and at the same time he publicly appealed for a renewed investigation of his case.

Miller Interviewed on Social, Other Issues

AU1212150390

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 7 December on page 3 carries a 1,000-word interview with Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs, by MLADA FRONTA DNES reporter Hanka Smolikova entitled "I Get Only One Salary." The place and date of the interview, which deals with various issues within Miller's sphere of competence, are not given.

Miller first answers a question on his income and perks. He says that, even though he is both minister and deputy to the Federal Assembly, he only receives a ministerial salary (12,000 korunas basic—taxable—salary, plus a tax-exempt allowance of 5,000 korunas a month for representational purposes). Although he is entitled to a chauffeur-driven official car, he drives himself. He lives in an "average flat in a prefabricated house."

The minister is then asked whether, in connection with the current discussions on the real estate tax, any "preferential treatment" is being considered for citizens living in heavily polluted areas who have bought a weekend house in the country "to be able to breath fresh air at least once in a while." Miller replies that taxes are within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance but that he has not heard anything about such preferential taxation being considered. As a matter of principle, however, he is opposed to the idea of solving the problems of people living in polluted areas by giving them financial advantages: "We do not want to swap health for money. We are coining the idea of environmental improvement. The first step on this road can be the shutdown of several units of the thermal power plants," he says.

The next question concerns the minister's reaction to the "strike alert" called by miners in protest against the Federal Government decision to approve early retirement (at the age of 50) for only some miners. Miller says that the reduction of the retirement age is only a "temporary measure, valid until the year 2000." It applies only to miners who are now above forty and who spent at least 25 years working in the industry, 15 of them underground. Miller stresses that, henceforth, it will be "virtually impossible for any miner to work 15 years in the mines" because of the introduction of new constraints on the "period of exposure" to the conditions in mines. As he notes, the maximum "period of exposure" varies depending on the conditions in individual mines; in the Sverma coal mine, for example, it amounts to 2,000 shifts, which is less than nine years. Miller says that miners "will have to become reconciled to the fact that mining is not a profession for life." This is also why changes to the miner's profession are being introduced, whereby vocational schools for miners will be offering a combination of trades such as miner-electrician, miner-locksmith, etc. Miller hopes that miners will accept this solution, which is in the interest of their health. He

believes that miners do not have a reason to be dissatisfied since the incidence of occupational diseases among them will decline and they will have the same rights and duties as all other workers.

Asked whether lowering the retirement age is considered also in other professions, Miller says that all international institutions (IMF, ILO, EC) emphasize that, if Czechoslovakia wants to join Europe, "it must have labor conditions and social security very close to those in the West. In Europe people retire at 65, which is why we cannot consider any future lowering of the retirement age. Since the average lifespan is lower in our country [than in Western Europe], the current age of retirement, 60, is adequate."

In concluding, Miller is asked about his opinion on the future of vocational schools. He replies that enterprises that want to retain vocational schools of their own should be able to do so. Vocational schools which enterprises want to get rid of should be administered by the state, however.

Voting on UN Disarmament Resolutions Explained

AU1112075490 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Dec 90 p 4

[CTK report: "New Approach by the CSFR"]

[Text] New York—On Tuesday [4 December], the plenary session of the UN General Assembly passed a whole "package" of resolutions on questions of disarmament. As opposed to the past years, the CSFR delegation in most cases abstained from voting. Czechoslovak Deputy Zdenek Nejedly explained this new approach to some aspects of disarmament in his speech. He pointed out that the CSFR does not reject the idea of disarmament but rather the stereotypical, often archaic confrontational language of these resolutions, and their often unrealistic content. "We have placed in the foremost place in our disarmament endeavors that which in our opinion is closer to reality than the unrealized wishes of long standing. It is the same line of thinking as in our contemporary politics, be it domestic or foreign," Deputy Z. Nejedly said.

Anti-Chemical Unit on Way to Saudi Arabia

AU1312151290 Prague CTK in English 1612 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 11 (CTK)—The first of 61 vehicles from a Czechoslovak volunteer anti-chemical unit were loaded into the belly of a C-5 Galaxy this morning and shortly after 1100 were on their way to Saudi Arabia.

Two more flights are scheduled for today and by the end of the week there will be 13 planeloads of equipment and personnel ready to proceed to their temporary station, some 450 km from Riyadh.

"The decision to send this unit was made because we all know very well what the use of chemical weapons means," said Czechoslovak Army General Chief-of-Staff Foreign Relations Administration Commander, Brigadier General Jiri Jindra. The 170 troops will be subdivided into three anti-chemical groups and one medical group, the rest will be maintenance.

"The unit's task for the time being will be to instruct Saudi Arabian soldiers and to familiarize the civilian population with protective measures against weapons of mass destruction", said Jindra.

Brigadier General Josef Cerny said that all three antichemical groups will be supplied with soldiers who have degrees in chemistry, in order to compensate for the fact that none of the volunteers have any military experience.

The Czechoslovak anti-chemical team are being sent to the Gulf region at the invitation of Saudi Arabia.

Meciar Denies 'Sale' of Tatra Mountains to U.S.

AU1012091890 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Dec 90 pp 1,2

["(NO, CTK)"-signed report: "Has the High Tatra Been Sold?"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— On Tuesday [4 December] PRAVDA, PRACA, and SMENA published an article which has stirred up a good deal of commotion. According to this article, an agreement has been signed with one U.S. company which supposedly guarantees its exclusive right to use, sell, or lease territory, buildings, and other facilities in our two national parks.

In its subtitle, the article raised the question of whether "the Tatra still belongs to us or is already American." During an intermission of yesterday's session of the Slovak National Council Committee for the Environment, we posed this question to Mikulas Huba, deputy for the Green Party and chairman of the committee, who replied: "I, too, am alarmed by the facts contained in this article and believe that it is appropriate to ask such questions. At the last meeting of the Slovak National Council I interpellated the Slovak prime minister on this matter but, regrettably, I did not receive a reply. [passage omitted] Citizens should be informed about what is happening to national property and what contracts and agreements are being concluded in this respect." [passage omitted]

During an intermission of Tuesday's [4 December] session of the Slovak Republic Government, a CTK reporter asked Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar whether the Slovak Government had sold the Tatra to a U.S. company. The prime minister replied that territory cannot be sold. "However, agreements exist on possible U.S. entrepreneurial ventures. There is an interest on the American side in the reconstruction of the High Tatra to give it a different appearance and to bring its ecology and landscape into harmony. The implementation of these agreements on our side is now under consideration." The

prime minister went on to say that a Slovak delegation had inspected how such companies in the United States operate and was enthusiastic. "You know yourselves," he stressed, "what things look like in the Tatra mountains these days. Interest in the West and in the former GDR in [vacations in] the Tatra has declined. It is obvious that efficiency can only be achieved when prices are freed. And we want to be efficient even in tourism." [passage omitted]

According to Engineer Ivan Voloscuk, director of the administration of the Tatra National Park (TANAP), for TANAP the agreement represents the year 1938 [presumably reference to the Munich agreement of 1938 where Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland was "sold" to Germany]. He said, "No one consulted this agreement with our organization and, self-evidently, the place under the agreement reserved for the signature of a TANAP representative remains empty," he said. Ivan Voloscuk believes that the agreement is invalid because the law of the Slovak National Council No. 11 of 1948 on TANAP is still valid and only the parliament can approve an exemption from it.

Changes in Border Protection Outlined

AU1112140490 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Dec 90 p 2

["(st)"-signed report: "Changes at the Borders"]

[Text] The liquidation of the iron curtain is almost complete. A total of 750 kilometers of barbed-wire fences, almost 600 watch towers, 7,500 pieces of dragon's teeth antitank devices, and more than 38,000 antitank and ferroconcrete cones on the borders with Germany and Austria have been removed. Farmers have taken over 1,000 hectares of land, communities, buildings, and structures amounting to 77 million korunas, and still more such objects will be given to them.

The border zone has been abolished and the state border is delimited by warning signs. Not everyone respects the borders, however, and, as the border patrols put it, the "pressure" on the state border is growing steadily. Over a period of eight months this year, a total of 5,468 persons attempted to cross it illegally and 4,100 of them were apprehended. In cooperation with other countries, a total of 1,320 cases had to be dealt with. More than half of the apprehended persons are citizens of Asian countries who seek a job in the West, and also Romanian citizens.

Even after the democratic changes the border guards cannot stay comfortably at home. Moreover, many of them have to change their garrisons, since the administration staff of the Border Protection is being increased in the localities of Kosice, Usti nad Labem, and Banska Bystrica. Thus, the abnormal situation, when two-thirds of Border Patrols were located at the borders with Germany and Austria, is changing. A gradual move to a professional border police is being experimented with—for the time being, in the Cheb and Bratislava crews. An expeditious passing of the law on border police appears, under the current conditions, very topical.

Pithart Comments on Volkswagen Agreement

LD0912231490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 9 Dec 90

[Text] The government of the Czech Republic met today for an extraordinary session. Prime Minister Petr Pithart spoke about the most important issue, which is of interest to the whole of our public.

[Pithart] At the recommendation of its economic council, the government of the Czech Republic adopted a resolution on foreign participation in the automobile factories of Skoda Mlada Boleslav. It chose the variant of cooperation with the Volkswagen firm. The organs of the government will prepare draft agreements with this German automobile firm. We emphasize, however, that this decision is conditional on agreement being reached on all the fundamental conditions of the contracts that the government proposes.

The decision is the result of selection at several stages. Of the original 24 possible partners, the Ministry of Machine Building and Electrical Engineering, together with the automobile concern Skoda Mlada Bolesav, carried out a selection of the final two partners. These were the Renault-Volvo and Volkswagen companies. To select a partner, Skoda requested an evaluation from the international auditing company Price Waterhouse. Advisers in the final round were our own Investment Bank and the banking firm Credit Suisse First Boston. The selection was governed by the evaluation of a number of fundamental characteristics of the offers in particular, and the standing of the firm Renault-Volvo and Volkswagen on the European automobile market. It took into consideration their production intentions—in particular the technology and investment offered—and the possible effects of their projects on employment and social consequences. We were also concerned with their intentions to respect the future of the Skoda trademark. Above all, however, we evaluated the overall financial conditions and the export possibilities being offered.

The government expects that its decision will lead to the formation of a joint stock company Skoda, in which Volkswagen will initially have approximately from one quarter to up to a third of shares. The Volkswagen share will probably rise in the future according to agreements reached on the future capital participation of this firm, as production and capital investment is further expanded.

In harmony with usual international custom, the government does not in the near future expect that it will be possible to publish any further information about the course and conditions of talks. If we did not respect the trade secrets of both sides, we would violate the rules of trade talks that are usual in the world.

[Announcer] That was Petr Pithart, prime minister of the Czech government.

The government also discussed some facts emerging from the Czech Republic and its organs from the draft division of powers bill. For example, it decided that by 1 January the Czech Ministry of Machine Building and Electrical Engineering will be abolished, as will the Ministry of Construction and Building Industry. Their work will be taken on by the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry for Economic Policy and Development. The creation of a Czech Ministry of Economic Affairs is not being considered at the moment. The government also decided that future businesses will fall under the Ministry of Trade and Tourism, and not under the Ministry of the Interior.

EC Official Interviewed on Financial Assistance

AU1012152390 Prague CTK in English 2200 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Brussels Dec 6 (CTK) — A group of experts of 24 advanced states, associated to help realize economic reforms in Central and Eastern Europe, have agreed that Czechoslovakia will need 1,000 million dollars in aid to its balance of payments in 1991, a spokesman for the Commission of European Communities told CTK here today.

The commission coordinates activity of the "24" group. Financial assistance to Czechoslovakia and other East European countries for 1991 will be discussed by EC finance ministers in Brussels on Monday. A definite decision will be taken by the end of this year after talks of the Council of the European "Twelve" in Rome on December 14-15 and the "24" group in the Belgian capital on December 17.

The experts of the "24" have taken into consideration serious problems in Czechoslovakia in 1991 due to lower oil supplies from the Soviet Union, transition to payments in convertible currency, the Gulf crisis, etc.

The EC Commission spokesman mentioned priorities to be observed in the power industry of the East European countries, namely substantial reduction of high energy consumption in industrial production. He stressed that when manufacturing a product East European countries' consumption is three to four times higher than in industrial states.

The spokesman said that these states can no longer rely on the only source of their supplies, i.e. the Soviet Union. Diversification of the power industry is the main step towards its restructuring.

Production Cooperative Becomes CECOP Member

AU1212163790 Prague CTK in English 1610 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak production cooperative movement was admitted today to the European Committee of Production Cooperatives (CECOP), being the organization's first East European member.

Czechoslovakia's admission was approved here today in the framework of a two-day seminar held by CECOP and the Cooperative Union of Czechoslovakia.

Participants in the seminar will discuss possibilities of multi and bilateral cooperation and elaborate concrete projects which are to be financed by the EC commission.

Czech Prime Minister on Political Developments

LD1212105990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, in the Civic Forum a will to become a political party—even a right-wing party—is strengthening. If I understand it, you have commented on it positively but with some reservations. Could you explain further your stand?

[Pithart] Unlike a political party a political movement is always something less specific. Its goals are more general. One such goal of the original Civic Forum was to remove the totalitarian dictatorship and to overcome its legacy around us and in us. I am now not speaking about how the Civic Forum is fulfilling this task—either well or badly—but the fact is that it set itself this task and this surely was correct. Although it is not yet quite fulfilled, there are further tasks ahead of us, above all the transformation of our economy. And this is a very specific task indeed, in fact such that in its fulfillment various problems will arise—perhaps even conflicts—and it will be necessary to solve them. For this, I think the strength of a political movement is not enough. Here we need certain guarantees. Someone has to ensure the purposefulness; so we will not lose sight of the goal. Someone has to ensure consistency in knowledge acquisition, so we will understand how we are doing and someone has to make sure that the coherance and implementation of the task is ensured, this means cooperation of the broadest possible extent from the public. From all this the need for a political party is quite clear. A political party is a grouping which is more purposeful and internally more disciplined. Its responsibility is clearer while the responsibility of a movement is somewhat vague, so to speak.

[Reporter] Judging by everything, it seems that a party that would be a guarantor of the economic reform would be created from the Civic Forum, or from its greater part, to be more precise. Some people already call it a right-wing party.

[Pithart] And here my reservations, which you have mentioned, namely begin. It seem to me that we are getting into a certain bad habit: it has been repeated many times that terms such as left-wing and right-wing and so on have been taken from the stabilized political scene of democratic society of the Western type. It has been repeatedly noted that such a scene has not been created in our country yet and that such labels cannot be simply used in our conditions, and despite this we are doing just this again and again. Please note that in the West no party, no grouping, has the term right-wing in its name. Whether someone will be on the left, on the right, in the center, and so on, will only emerge, surely, from the behavior of one or another party on the political scene. Just as the center can only be something between the left and the right, equally the right wing can only be something in relation to the left of it, and what is on the left today? The Communist Party, that is for sure, but will we be guided by this? A strong left, a high-profile left has not been created yet and will not be created just yet. Thus the right wing and so on is not a term for a program of a political party but rather its relationship to other partners on the scene.

[Reporter] On Friday, 10 December, the government of the Czech Republic issued its declaration. You read it yesterday on the Czechoslovak television newsreel. What in fact is the meaning and purpose of this declaration?

[Pithart] The point of this statement is, in fact, simple. I hope that it was comprehensible to the viewers. The past 40 years were a very poor chapter in our history. We were left with a sad heritage. The government declaration turns to citizens, telling them to take it that way, to understand it as a piece of our national history, and mainly tells them to realize that history—with a capital H—does not give compensation [Several words indistinct] workplaces, these happen to be places where people with university educations are working, where they started rehabilitating people in a particular fashion. They simply figured out what they could be if everything was different, how they would grow up as experts and socially, what posts and academic decorations they would have.

And now I am only waiting for [word indistinct] to present the bill. The question, however, is to whom. There is no institution from which we could ask full compensation for the entire damage. The government can grant compensation to a certain, however essential, small number of people; it can try to interfere in extreme cases. But that is not enough. The communist dictatorship damaged the entire nation, in fact the nation allowed itself to be damaged, even several generations into the future. We shall all try to work on our selves, but the damages incurred upon the entire society cannot be paid for. They will have to be put right by at least one generation, but I rather think two generations.

[Reporter] The agitated atmosphere of the past few days highlighted by the apprehensions as to the fate of the federation is preventing us from taking notice of other things of equal importance, for example the marriage, as we say, of our Skoda factory with Volkswagen firm? What other consequences will this have?

[Pithart] I only know about the favorable ones. What does it do with the Skoda works itself? Well, we were told on television yesterday by Skoda employees. However, it will not be a Skoda factory only, or only Mlada Boleslav who will benefit. This marriage is a revival jab for our entire economy, it is a direct incentive for one part of it. The blood circulation will not only increase in the Skoda plant, but also in enterprises that are its subcontractors. They will have to keep pace to prevent others from getting ahead them. This means that they will have to carry out similar changes as those carried out by the Skoda factory itself which will force them up to the West European level. Maybe they will be able to profit in a different way as well: under the auspices of the Skoda-Volkswagen marriage they themselves will penetrate world markets because they will know how to do it and because they will have something to offer. This married couple will be interested in its subcontractors prospering. I will speak about another favorable affect of this transaction. It has, you see, given an impulse to Western business circles. I view very positively the fact that this interest does not die down despite the fact that a serious dispute is in progress in our country on the form of the federation. Such well known firms as Continental, Goodyear, Michelin, and others are interested in marriages with our rubber industry enterprises. This will surely be good news for our citizens who complain about a shortage of tires. In this case, too, selection proceedings will take place as in the case of Volkswagen and I have received reports from Sklounion [glass works] in Teplice. There too, cooperation with foreign capital is taking place and it is not ruled out that the Sklounion works in Teplice only will make windows for Volkswagen-Skoda but also for other large European firms.

All this is of vast social and political importance. These are hundreds and thousands of jobs but this also means the chance of a nationwide education in enterprise. We will soon have the opportunity to learn how to work in a new way, to master technological and work discipline and to give an impetus through this motivation to other enterprises. When something is successful somewhere, it gives impetus to others for something similar and they will, in turn, give impetus to another circle of those who are still hesitant.

[Reporter] A reply to such a question is a pleasure indeed, no doubt. I have, however, one question that is more delicate. There are rumors that that the threat of a possible declaration of superiority of Slovak laws over federal has been fabricated by you in fact.

[Pithart] Unfortunately, this is not the case. [sentence as heard] I have a number of witnesses for this, members of the government of the Czech Republic. We learned what could possibly happen if the Federal Assembly does not approve the bill on division of powers or adopt it with changes that would be unacceptable for the Slovak political representation in the course of talks with a delegation of the Slovak Government last Thursday. I could have easily kept quiet about it. But I cannot, however, imagine what would happen if a threat would

materialize and then it would emerge that someone did know about it but for some tactical reasons kept quiet about it. I am a constitutional representative and I have a constitutional responsibility. Thus I not only informed the president but also the Czech National Council.

You know, we are often accused—and I do not say that this is not correct sometimes—of holding talks behind closed doors. This critical attitude by journalists is very well expressed by a caricature of my friend Dusan Palka on the front page of LIDOVE NOVINY today. A group of politicians, obviously, is standing in front of a closed door. Someone is banging on the door, and I fear that that someone is me, and is calling: Journalists open up, we are fed up with those talks behind closed doors! I do understand well what journalists mean but this time the caricature does not ring true because I did open the door as soon as it was possible. If we wanted to hold talks with Mr. Hahn, president of Volkswagen, with doors open then we would not have been able to set down at the table, we would not have been able to announce yesterday what we did announce. Some talks simply take place behind closed doors for sometime. But it is up to us, up to our sense of responsibility, our sense of the situation, to judge correctly when the door has to be open.

True, Mr. Meciar did not brief the communications media, a MLADA FRONTA representative came to the government office and he got an answer from me, he did not get any reply from him. He replied by referring very critically to the writing of the Czech communication media. No agreement—or even an agreement about keeping silent—was concluded and I could not make it either. One simply cannot make such an agreement. This is all I can say about it. But it is probably getting into the public consciousness.

We had a phone-in question here from LIDOVE NOVINY and I was also asked at a Civic Forum Council today whether in fact the Slovak side did say it and when I assured them that it did, they were worried as to whether it was correct that I said it aloud—this was expressed by a ranking representative of Civic Forum. I did not hestiate for a minute at that time and I am not hesitating now when I am reply to you. There are situations when the door has to open even if the report that is behind it is not very pleasant.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, I thank you for the interview.

Civic Forum Formulates Policy Principles

AU1212154990 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Jana Smidova and Jaroslav Veis report: "Pragmatically to the Right"]

[Text] Olomouc—The two-day all-republican meeting involving 200 representatives from district Civic Forums [OF] had been conceived as a working meeting, that is, it was not intended to have the authority and significance of a OF assembly. However, despite this, it was very significant. The two-day series of debates was oriented toward considering the election results and discussing the OF's development policy and future structure.

Although some delegates also reacted to topical issues concerning our country's internal political development—such as, for example, the jurisdiction laws—the debate was strictly oriented toward a specific topic. Reports delivered by OF representatives and supporters from the districts, representative organs, and the government reflected the broad spectrum of views on the current political scene. The discussions proceeded from draft principles for the movement's political program. These clearly indicate what the OF wants and what it does not want. The OF does not want a third way in the economy or in policy, a symbiosis of the market and plan, or experimental ideas for civic initiatives. It does not want socialism with a human face, reform Communism, Obroda, the Left Alternative, or any version of them. It does not want to be a shining example in policy—domestic or foreign—a trail blazer, or a social experimenter. It in no way wants the date which we associate with our disrupted continuity to be 1968 and its ideological development, it wants this date to be the period prior to 1948. It does not want Marxist or Leninist ideology with all the consequences which ensued from it for our society. On the contrary, the OF wants to build a modern civic society in which the citizen, family, community, and state (in this very order) are the main building blocks and it wants to introduce a market economy in which private ownership will be given the main status. The draft also contains a demand that the activities of individuals responsible for the current state of our economy and society be roundly condemned and that their criminal acts be punished in accordance with the law. We are aware, state the draft principles, that destroying the remnants of the socialist economy and transferring to a market economy will bring many difficulties for all of us and that these difficulties are unavoidable. We will not flinch from any kind of social demagogy.

According to the principles, all of this can only be achieved by establishing an ideologically crystallized political party. Its future shape and structure—which should be approved by the OF assembly due to take place at the beginning of next year—was suggested at the end of the meeting in a resolution put forward by the section for organizational structure. Membership of the party, which will have a vertical structure with clearly defined jurisdictions, should be individual and should be defined by the policy statement. The organizational apparatus should be subordinate to its political representation and should operate at the local, municipal, district, republican, and—if appropriate—federal level. The rights of ideological minorities should be defined and guaranteed by the party's articles.

The issue of minorities and ideological streams differing from those of the majority was one of the most burning points in the discussion. OF Chairman Vaclav Klaus

declared that it is unnecessary to dramatize the situation and he emphasized in conclusion: "We are undergoing a period of ideological differentiation which is absolutely typical of the countries in the post-Communist bloc." He exhorted people to realize that this differentiation is proceeding in a cultured manner, that it is democratic, and that it is not being conducted by anyone from above. This is not a palace revolution, he said. The conclusions reached at the working session were then adopted by a majority of 171 votes; there were 14 votes against and 10 abstentions.

At a news conference which took place following the two-day OF working session Vaclav Klaus, among other things, rejected the view that nothing had been achieved. On the contrary, he appreciated the fact that a relative unity has been achieved among the majority of participants and that draft principles for the OF's political program have been submitted to the movement's supporters which outline what the movement wants and where, on the other hand, it definitely does not want to return to.

Vaclav Klaus was unwilling to define the OF as a right-wing party. He admitted that, apart from the imaginary center, it will also concentrate on forces to the right of it.

We asked Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy prime minister and foreign minister—whose participation in yesterday's news conference was not approved by delegates—how he evaluated the course of the Olomouc working meeting.

[Dienstbier] I consider it to be a working meeting and nothing more than that. Documents were prepared here which, in my opinion, should be discussed further. If these documents were binding, then the assembly would not have to take place at all. More will be said about the documents. The most important thing is the concurrence of everyone's views on the necessity of implementing fundamental economic reform. Another question is how this should be implemented politically—whether it should be by a party or by a movement. All of this is still open to question. After all, parties are not established by resolutions; only certain types of parties—neither democratic nor mass ones—are established by resolutions. The idea that a party will be established from the OF in three weeks, a party which would be a mass democratic one is, in my opinion, a delusion.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Do you consider, then, current development within the OF to be politically risky?

[Dienstbier] It is necessary to realize that today the OF is, in essence, the only integrative element in the Czech Lands and that any kind of game with this force may be very dangerous. I understand that some people may not like the OF's wishy-washiness and, for this very reason, it is necessary to formulate individual stances in order that we become differentiated politically. However, it may take longer for real political parties to extract themselves from this spectrum. The other fundamental issue which, apart from economic reform, interests me is the construction of a democratic system. This will require effort not only within the OF, but also throughout society. The Constitution will be important here. This should be a Constitution acceptable to everyone. The OF's task has not yet been fulfilled. I am not talking about all the things we received a mandate for in the June elections. Voters also gave us their votes because we were not a party founded on vertical subordination and because everyone—whether they were on the left or on the right—was able to agree upon a common program.

Czech Radio Programming To Change 'Character'

LD1212174290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] The radio's paramount role in the future is going to be strengthening and widening the range of its cultural role.

As Jiri Mistrik, editor in chief of Czech radio programming center, said during today's news conference, the radio intends to offer to is listeners the best works for all spheres of domestic as well as foreign culture. This is why the program character of some stations will be changed. The program of the Vltava station, which is aimed at more demanding listeners and in this way supplements the Prague station, is to contribute above all toward spiritual cultivation and educational standards.

A new radio circuit—called Regina—will begin its broadcasting from 2 January. Its program will be prepared by the regional stations of Czech Radio.

Slovak Poll Rejects Greater Presidential Power

LD1312175590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Although President Havel is now hundreds of kilometers away from Prague, in our capital and outside it, too, the proposals he delivered to the Federal Assembly on Monday continue to be a topic of discussion.

Slovak radio's research section has carried out a prompt reviews of opinion on granting great powers to the president. Of 1,500 respondents over 15 years of age from all over Slovakia, 75.9 percent do not agree with granting greater powers to the president.

Prime Minister Begins Government Reshuffle

LD1412121990 Budapest MTI in English 1154 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 14, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall today reshuffled his government, appointing Mr Mihaly Kupa, a prominent financial expert, as the new finance minister following the resignation of Ferenc Rabar last month.

This is the first government reshuffle since the coalition government took office in May in the wake of the first free elections since 1948.

The prime minister relieved from his post as interior minister Balazs Horvath and appointed in his place Mr Peter Boross, previously minister without portfolio.

In his first statement to journalists, Mr Kupa said that the economic situation is critical but not catastrophic, and there are even some promising signs.

Although I spent only six months in business, I can categorically state that foreign capital is showing a tremendous interest in Hungary, he said.

Mr Kupa stressed that he had agreed with the prime minister that from now on, the Finance Ministry would be the main architect of Hungary's economic policy, and that the economic cabinet is to be dissolved.

State Secretary Gyorgy Matolcsy, who headed the Economic Policy Secretariat of the government, has also been relieved of his post.

The main danger now is inflation, which is destroying the economy and human life, so efforts should be concentrated in this area, Mr Kupa told newsmen, adding that the effects of unemployment cannot be underestimated either. A middle road should be sought, he said.

As the main elements of the new economic policy, Mr Kupa listed limiting and cutting back the role of the state in the economy, establishing a market-friendly tax system, and putting the social functions of the state on a new financial basis.

Answering journalists, questions, Mr Kupa emphasized, I have received every possible guarantee from the prime minister about carrying out the economic policy I represent.

On the dispute between former finance minister Rabar and state secretary Matolcsy, he stressed, no esoteric economic theories can be implemented in Hungary.

His idea of a kind of mixed economy in which supply-side elements should be combined with measures to restrict demand.

More Ministerial Changes Expected

LD1412133990 Budapest MTI in English 1238 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—The prime minister's press office has issued the following press release:

The members of the government have prevented their request for exemption to be decided by the prime minister. Some ministers and state secretaries have asked for their resignation to be accepted.

The prime minister will carry out the reshuffle in several phases. Now he makes the following personnel proposals to the president of the republic and wishes to implement the following measures.

We proposes Balazs Horvath to be relieved of his post as Minister of the Interior, appointing him to take charge of the secretariate of Hungarians beyond the borders as minister without portfolio and to act as co-ordinator between the government and [word indistinct] interior.

Chief Government Commissioner Andras Galszecsy, the current head of the Office of Ministers Without Portfolio, is recommended as minister without portfolio, authorizing him to supervise the Nat Kupa, acting director of the DRT Hungary Ltc., is recommended as finance minister. [sentence as received]

Titular Secretary of State Erno Pungor, president of the State Office for Technical Development and the National Nuclear Energy Committee, is proposed to act as minister without portfolio, parallel to upholding his function as president and his supervisory jurisdiction.

Katalin Botos, political secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance, is proposed to be relieved on condition that she see to her activity until the conclusion of the budgetary talks. At the same time, it is proposed Botos carry out governmental tasks related to the banking system as minister without portfolio, in keeping with the bills under preparation on the central bank and the financial [sentence as received]

Gyorgy Matolcsy, political secretary of state in charge of the Economic Policy Secretariate of the prime minister's office, is recommended to be relieved, according to his request.

Henrik Auth, administrative secretary of state of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, was relieved of his post which is proposed to be filled by Jeno Laszlo, acting director of the machine engineering development and planning PLC.

Simultaneously with the reshuffle, the cabinets and professional colleges operating as advisory bodies to each and every minister will be set up or confirmed in their operations.

If possible, the prime minister will carry out additional personnel changes within the government, including the

relieving and appointment of other secretaries of state, as well as proposals for the commissioners of the Republic, next week.

FIDESZ, SZDSZ Members on Opposition's Role

AU1312183190 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Dec 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with Federation of Young Democrats representative Gabor Fodor and Alliance of Free Democrats Chairman Janos Kis by Zoltan Lovas; place and date not given: "The Liberal Opposition Does Not Want To Topple the Antall Government"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] Gabor Fodor and Janos Kis think it would be possible to ease the tensions that have sprung up between the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]; furthermore, they see a minimal liberal agreement as a prerequisite for overcoming the current crisis in Hungary. Both Fodor and Kis stress that it is Hungarian democracy that is at stake in the current economic and political crisis, and neither of the liberal opposition parties want the Antall government to fail.

[Lovas] Since the beginning of 1990, tensions have emerged between the two liberal parties, the SZDSZ and the FIDESZ. Even public opinion has begun to sense this during the last few weeks....

[Fodor] There are several elements in this tension which have emerged and which could be outlined. I would initially mention two points. First, there is a psychological dimension—a certain "father-complex"—within the FIDESZ. This complex is also to be found in the SZDSZ, however, or at least in many local organizations. FIDESZ members desperately want to prove that they are independent of the SZDSZ. In some places, they try to prove this independence in an incomprehensible and unfounded way; on the other hand, FIDESZ members are sometimes patronized as a youth group by the SZDSZ. I see a second source of conflict in the fact that relations between the two parties are burdened by contradictions from the start, and these contradictions actually persist. The FIDESZ and the SZDSZ stand fairly close on an innumerable number of basic issues; indeed, we even have similar starting points in many cases. Both parties see themselves as liberal, and their schools of thought are based mostly on the philosophy of human rights; however, it is not at all certain that the two parties draw the same conclusions from the same principles. Furthermore, as a result of the different steps taken in politics, they may then find themselves in conflicting positions. Moreover, the electorate of the two parties overlap to a great extent.

[Kis] As far as the father-complex or the hurt-parent complex are concerned, both sides will have to grow out of these as the FIDESZ grows older, of course. At the most, these complexes add some color to the political landscape. The real issue is that there are two liberal parties on the scene. In recent months, several important FIDESZ representatives have stated that the FIDESZ is a liberal party, but that it does not stand naturally close to the SZDSZ; the FIDESZ forms partnerships from issue to issue, with us or with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Moreover, if the FIDESZ distances itself from one party, it does not automatically come closer to the other. [passage omitted]

[Lovas] There may only be a few weeks' left to consolidate Hungary's political and economic situation....

[Kis] It would be unfortunate if we started acting erratically. If a crisis does emerge, we will have to deal with it. At this stage, however, it would be preferable to avoid a crisis by tending to minor details. I think that there are two things we can do today: First, we can facilitate the government's work by not stopping the budget that it has proposed—if the government succeeds in convincing its own parliamentary representatives to approve this budget. No matter how bad this budget is, the country cannot go on without a budget, and a better budget could not be put forward within the time that we have at our disposal. Second, we should work persistently at trying to establish a consensus, which is the only way to save this country from chaos.

[Fodor] I see the current situation as very critical! Furthermore, we know that even though we stand outside the government—and we do not even plan to enter a cabinet with this coalition background—we have to do everything that an opposition party can do to help this government! This crisis is so serious that there is no real short-term alternative to the Antall government, given the current political "distribution"—unless new elections are held. However, if the government is incapable of passing the budget, then the failure of this government will not be the only repercussion. The whole system of political institutions will collapse! The governing parties and the opposition will fall together. So, we have to formulate the opposition's criticism in such a way that the government can make use of this criticism, if possible.

There are areas where the FIDESZ and the SZDSZ have good chances of winning the support of the electorate. Consequently, in the current situation, both the SZDSZ and the FIDESZ have an electoral basis that allows them to exist, and to exist in quite a stable way, in fact. Certain local governments "affairs" in Budapest and in some provincial towns have unfortunately been reflected rather badly in the press. We should try to analyze even the most basic issues within the FIDESZ, and we should try to see how we feel about these issues. For example, what does it mean to be a liberal in Hungary, nowadays? How do we determine our relations with the other liberal party, or with the government? We are facing an economic crisis at the moment, and under such circumstances, the weakening of political parties rocks the confidence that people have placed in our system of political institutions. Organizations that claim to be liberal should particularly avoid constantly trying to

seduce the electorate of other liberal parties; instead of that, they should concentrate on finding a way out of this crisis. [passage omitted]

Government Liberalizes Oil Imports, Pricing

LD1312110890 Budapest MTI in English 1021 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 13, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Government decided at their session today to liberalize the import, trade and pricing of mineral oil and oil derivatives.

This step removes the Hungarian oil and gas trust from the obligation to supply the country with these fuels. The Ministry of Finance will abolish the central pricing of oil and oil products, which will henceforth have free market prices.

Along with the liberalization of oil imports, the government has made it compulsory for importers to keep reserve stocks of 5 per cent of the total imported quantity of mineral oil and 8 per cent of oil derivatives. These proportions are much lower than those customary in West European countries and will be in operation for only one year, with the level of compulsory reserves likely to be raised from 1992.

At present, mineral oil supplies are ensured only for January next year. The national oil and gas trust recently ordered 250,000 tonnes of Soviet and 300,000 tonnes of Mediterranean oil for delivery in December and use in January.

In 1991, Hungary intends to import 6.5 million tonnes of mineral oil.

Under the trade agreement signed recently with the Soviet Union, the Soviet party will deliver only 1 million tonnes of mineral oil next year but an estimated further 1-2 million tonnes could be imported under barter agreements with various Soviet republics.

Agricultural Producers Reject Compensation Plan

LD1312160390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Zsuzsa Vajda report]

[Text] The Federation of Agricultural Cooperators and Producers [MOSZ], held a news briefing today. The reason why the government's compensation plan is unacceptable was explained as Zsuzsa Vajda reports:

This is not the way smallholders want to get the land back, and those in the cooperatives do not want to give it back this way, either. The Federation of Agricultural Producers, like the Smallholders' Party, rejects the government's compensation bill. The text of the bill is against us in every way, MOSZ Chairman Tamas Nagy said. It obliges those who are not guilty to pay compensation; therefore, the agricultural cooperatives have to pay for the damage caused by the state rather than having the money come out of the state budget. It destroys agricultural production as the cooperatives would have to pay out five times the annual agricultural profit of 20 billion [currency not specified] during three years, and they would not even be able to pay the wages in the meantime.

In agriculture, 50-100,000 people will become unemployed in the near future even without introducing this law. Profits from the land were not stolen by the producers; it was taken by society via the relatively low food prices. The open-ended questions of the bill, and controversies between the text of the bill and its justification were also discussed. For example, the text of the bill talks about state property land, but in the handling of the cooperatives, could the claiments have a share in this land? The cooperatives manage 5 million hectares. Only four percent of this, however—some 200,000 hectares—is state property. So does the earlier interpretation of the Constitutional Court lose its value—that is, will compensation have to be made out of the cooperative lands too?

There are more and more questions, to which the agricultural producers failed to get answers in the past months. From this draft bill, however, if not an open but the disguised reply is beginning to emerge. Who made this decision? The finance minister resigned, because he does not agree with the economic policy; so did his would-be opposition. So, who writes the unacceptable decrees and laws which are destroying the branch bringing 1 billion [currency not specified] net annual profit?

Television Service Warns of Financial Constraints

LD1312164590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Hungarian Television can continue broadcasting only until next spring if next year's budget support for the institution is not raised by a further 3.5 billion forints, the president of the television told parliament's Cultural Committee. Elemer Hankiss gave a dramatic description: They are trying to find a way out of the financial difficulties by hiring our transmission vehicles to foreign television companies working in Hungary, and they are planning to sell the Szabadsag Square [in Budapest] headquarters. Foreign entrepreneurs would build a smaller but more modern building in exchange. Members of the Cultural Committee printed out that it could be a solution if television broadcast on one channel only, and if they increased income from advertising. Elemer Hankiss, however, denied that the television service could be maintained purely from advertisements and sponsors' support.

Spokesman on Relations With Neighboring Countries

AU1312142590 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 8 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Affairs spokesman Janos Herman by Katalin Decsi; place and date not given:

"All-round Opinion—Janos Herman on Our Neighbors"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] We are striving for "all-round" contact development, and we hope that every one of our neighbors is a partner to this, Janos Herman said when we asked him about his opinion regarding Hungary's relations with the neighboring countries.

[Decsi] Where do Hungary's relations with neighboring countries stand among the priorities of the Hungarian foreign policy?

[Herman] These relations are clearly in the forefront of our priorities. On the one hand, there is a large number of Hungarian minorities living in these countries; on the other hand, given our geographical position and historic traditions, these are partners which continue to be very important for us. I could say that we are striving for an "all-round" contact development, and we believe that, after all, we will find partners for this everywhere.

Presently, our task is to examine those elements of our previous cooperation which we can use today. We must adjust our relations to the changes that have taken place in this area and to the consequences of the all-European cooperation currently in formation.

The old order has collapsed, and we must now choose: Either this area will return to the conditions prior to World War II, or we will start advancing toward the full assertion of the renewed European system of norms. Perhaps helping the latter is the most important task today.

[Decsi] What is your view of the level of these relations? According to the press, the situation is rather tense.

[Herman] We are presently in a period of transition because the former "good relations" were just an appearance. The problems continued to exist beneath the surface. Now, we must face the fact that these problems have surfaced in the wake of the changes in the internal and external circumstances.

I do not think we can say that bilateral relations are solely characterized by tension with any of our neighbors; we can find both positive elements and controversial issues in all our relations with neighboring countries. The proportions, of course, strongly differ from case to case; therefore, we can hardly regard the Romanian-Hungarian relations as balanced.

Regarding Romania, Hungarian diplomacy is making constant efforts to normalize our bilateral relations. In my opinion, there has been no regression or development for some time, and our relations are stagnating. We have made a series of initiatives, but we will decide on a spectacular step only if there is a substantial point in such a step, namely if specific results can be expected from such a move.

[Decsi] The CSFR is Hungary's other neighbor where there is a substantial Hungarian minority. Is the situation better there in this respect?

[Herman] We have identical views with the CSFR Government on many issues, and this also facilitates our contacts. I see good chances for the full assertion of European norms in our relations. We would also like to have similar cooperation with the Slovak Government. Obviously, we have differences of views on the issue of national minorities, and we must discuss this issue.

[Decsi] Some people say that Hungarian-Austrian relations have declined in the past six months. Do you agree with this?

[Herman] Austria was a privileged partner in the past. After the Hungarian diplomacy opened up toward the Western European countries and integration organizations, and after several other Eastern-Central European countries did the same, we temporarily paid mutually less attention to our relations with Austria. We can expect an acceleration in our political contacts after the establishment of the newly constituted Austrian Government.

[Decsi] Speaking about spectacular events, how did President Goncz' visit to the Ukraine affect our bilateral relations?

[Herman] We outlined the direction for the development of our bilateral relations for a relatively longer period of time. I would like to point out that, among the neighboring regions, the Ukraine is one of those which provide the best cultural and political conditions for the Hungarians living there. Naturally, we are striving to develop our cooperation with the whole of the Soviet Union and also with other Soviet republics.

[Decsi] Does the complex situation in Yugoslavia not cause problems in our bilateral relations?

[Herman] We are following the changes in Yugoslavia with great attention because it is in our interest to see that Yugoslavia solves its domestic problems in a peaceful and democratic way. Besides, we also have intensive contacts with the various member republics in Yugoslavia, and we have already welcomed several local leaders in Budapest. SFRY Prime Minister Ante Markovic visited Hungary on 7 December.

[Decsi] We can hardly regard the region of Eastern-Central Europe as a zone of calm. Numerous statements are issued, and there is a lot of "misunderstanding." Is it only the unsettled issue of national minorities behind this state of affairs?

[Herman] This is far from the only issue. The difficult economic situation is the major common problem this region is facing. Individual countries have reached various levels of democracy, each country has its own specific economic situation, and each country has different foreign policy opportunities. There are groups in

some countries which try to gain domestic policy benefits for themselves by making use of the open expression of national feelings and by inciting discords. We hope, however, that forces that recognize real values and the need for cooperation will prevail everywhere. Integration in the European organizations also requires this.

Hungary is in a special situation as regards the issue of national minorities because the Hungarian minority living in the neighboring countries is much larger than the national minority population living in Hungary. However, when we say that we feel responsible for the Hungarians living beyond our borders, we do this by respecting the international agreements and legal norms.

We have proposed that several of our neighbors create a national minority charter, a bilateral document which would stipulate the desirable national minority rights. In addition, we find it necessary to also seek the opportunities for progress on regional and all-European levels.

[Decsi] The multilateral organizations of the countries in this region, CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, are in a state of dissolution. What will replace them?

[Herman] Political and economic cooperation with the aforementioned countries continues to be our major interest. The all-European system of relations currently in formation will obviously provide a qualitatively different and more efficient framework for such cooperation. In the short term, we would like to sign bilateral agreements with our neighbors, agreements that would replace the obsolete friendship and cooperation agreements. We have already made such a proposal to the Soviet Union, and coordination talks at the level of experts are already under way.

The Pentagonal, which includes Italy, Yugoslavia, the CSFR, Austria, and Hungary, is already functioning. A tripartite CSFR-Polish-Hungarian cooperation on specific economic, environmental protection, and other affairs is under consideration. Cooperation among local self-government bodies has begun. The Alps-Adriatic working group is well known, and plan for a Tisza-Carpathian working group has already taken root.

Soviet General Seeks Compensation for Facilities

LD1312183490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Today, the departing Soviet Army gave back the vacated barracks and officers' apartments in Taborfalva in the guise of a small festive event. I think the announcement by departing Colonel General Burlakov on behalf of his government, however, is even more important. Pal Varga reports:

[Varga] The Hungarian Government should pay 600-700 million rubles to the Soviet Union before the end of the year, in the form of building materials or in other products, if possible. This was said at the farewell news conference of Matvey Burlakov, held in Taborfalva. [passage omitted]

Well, it must be said that we could see clean and tidy apartments and officers' housing. The cold shower came when Colonel General Burlakov, who is leaving the post of chief commander of the Southern Army Division, told the news conference about the aforememtioned Soviet Government military request totaling more than half a billion rubles. The estimated value of the Soviet barracks, housing estates, apartments and other establishments left behind, he said, is 1.2 billion rubles. Thus, it would be reasonable if the Hungarian Government offers compensation for at least half of this by the end of the year. The other half of the demand would be frozen, according to their idea, and it would serve as a reserve for the Hungarian demands: For example, these include environmental damages caused by Soviet troops, such as soil and water contamination, gathering and defusing scattered explosives. The Hungarian military leaders and representative of the government declined comment.

Refugee Affairs Office Views Soviet Influx Issue

LD1312231190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Studio interview with Dr. Judit Toth, deputy head of Office of Refugee Affairs by announcer; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Our guest is Dr. Judit Toth, who returned yesterday from Prague from a roundtable discussion staged by the Institute for East-West Security Studies. What was discussed there?

[Toth] The topic of the discussion was the impact of the expected Soviet passport law. Economic, social, legal, administrative and many other experts, in the broadest sense, put their heads together to discuss what kind of forecast could be made. [passage omitted] In part, we tried to list the preventive measures that are expected in nearly every country bordering the Soviet Union. I have to say that it is a question of a large number of administrative measures, at the level of legislative, administrative tasks. On the other hand, remarks were made which indicated that the fear existing in many people, that beginning 1 January a considerable invasion will begin toward the countries bordering the Soviet Union, is not entirely correct—if you like, this is unconfirmed information. There are many obstacles to this.

[Announcer] Properly speaking, I believe that this has been denied primarily by the Soviet Union, with reference to internal administrative difficulties.

[Toth] There are numerous obstacles, but I will mention one in particular: Just as the Hungarian parliament is overburdened with agenda points, the same is true within the Soviet Union. It is virtually impossible for the Supreme Soviet and the parliament there to discuss this issue, and to get through this agenda point by the end of

month. The other question that has sharply arisen is that of what to expect in the relationship between the Soviet Union and the republics, because we know that steps are being taken in several republics to work out their own citizenship laws. There are increasing signs of autonomy and independence, therefore, which are taken seriously; in the final analysis nothing rules out the possibility of a republic deciding to enact independent regulations. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Beyond analyzing the Soviet Union's internal problems, you also dealt with the question of what forecast could be expected if a Soviet world passport were to be issued—and this obviously will happen sooner or later. Furthermore, what kind of tasks arise in connection with refugees, for the Eastern European, former socialist countries, which must be dealt with either collectively or individually?

[Toth] Allow me to say, first, that no one handled this problem as a refugee topic. According to how things stand now, what was firtst discussed here was a mass influx [toemeges bearamlas].

[Announcer] Is this a new kind of category?

[Toth] No. One who has dealt with this issue and who is slightly acquainted with the professional literature knows that only a fraction of the refugee waves are what can be handled as refugees on the basis of international legal institutions. To give an example, here is a figure which will illustrate this: At the moment, only five percent of those setting off as escapees are given refugee status according to the Geneva convention, which involves more than 100 countries and which we could call a world accord.

[Announcer] What is the situation with the remaining 95 percent?

[Toth] This, precisely, was the next conclusion of this exchange of views. A new migration channel must be sought. Earlier, the legal institutions for refugee affairs were able to handle this matter in some manner. Amid the changed political and economic circumstances, however, entirely new frameworks must be seriously considered. That is why it is necessary to emphasize the need to handle the matter not as a refugee issue. This migration channel, which up to now we called legal institutions for refugee afffairs, cannot be maintained so extensively in the future. To emphasize this, allow me to say that the International Migration Organization—the IOM—took part with great weight not just in this discussion, but generally in the international arena; furthermore, it appears that this will be the true framework of the future which tries to think through the economic and political consequences of the great migration of people, in which we have also become participants.

[Announcer] How will Hungary go about doing something in connection with all this? [passage omitted] At the moment, the Office for Refugee Affairs deals with those who come here, regardless of the extent to which it is not a refugee issue, is that not so?

[Toth] Allow me to be more specific: Only a very small percentage of those who come in can be handled and have their futures arranged on the basis of the refugee institutions. I should like to give a figure: By the end of November this year, more than 17,000 clients had called on our local organs and the Office for Refugee Affairs. They were of the most varied types, and some just looked in, and some looked in out of interest. This, properly speaking, indicates that if they were now able to stay in Hungary unconditionally, there would be at least this number of people, or perhaps a multiple of this number. This is because we do not register family members when a family arrives. We only register the family head who makes inquiries, as a client, about how it would be possible to stay in Hungary and take on employment. In total, however, 10 percent of this relatively large number undertake refugee registration procedures. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] There has been talk of 100,000 people being in the country; 17,000 of them have presented themselves at your offices.

[Toth] The wish to give accurate figures is very genuine, but it is curious that the number of those staying in Hungary illegally cannot be given numerically. For example, those who live in the border regions have reported that at the time of summer work, the number of foreign faces increases multi-fold. This is also an indication that the migration will constitute a very big challenge for Hungary, especially in the labor market. This, of course, also entails the need to keep the Hungarian i. frastructure prepared for the fact that Hungary has, as opposed to being closed in on itself, proclaimed an entirely different philosophy, and migration is a part of the major endeavor for the free flow of labor, capital, and goods. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Where have they been coming from in the past one and half months?

[Toth] The composition of those coming to Hungary in the past one and a half to two months has not differed at all from, let us say, that during the past six months or year. A considerable percentage still comes from Romania, and there is a slight increase in the number of those coming from the Soviet Union. To give some statistics: Some 75 percent of those who have presented and registered themselves with us, as clients or as people unbeatable procedures, speak Hungarian and have come to our country either from Romania or the Soviet Union. The number of those who have called on us from the Soviet Union was 330 by the end of November; in total, 55 people initiated refugee registration procedures—I am referring to Soviets.

[Announcer] How many people ask for settlement permits?

[Toth] The Interior Ministry's authorities, departments, and the directly linked police organs for aliens' affairs deal with tasks related to immigration. So they are really the ones to be asked this question. To the best of my knowledge, in the first seven months of the year, some 10,000 such requests came in, which is far more than that of previous years. If we look at statistics from some years earlier, the number of immigrants to Hungary—or to use the previous terminology, those settling in Hungary—was 4,000-5,000 in total per year. This indicates a considerable increase, which is thought-provoking, partly because we must be ready so that, as a result of the leveling out of the labor market, there will be more significant movement in Hungary; on the other hand, the conditions in the neighboring countries are so changeable that this choice of life strategy by people is understandable in human terms, too.

[Announcer] If we are talking about life strategies, I do not whether you have recently been in the area of Moszkvba Square [in Budapest].

[Toth] Yes, I have been there, and I too have experienced the slave market [rabszolga piac], if you like, and I have spoken with some people. They pointed out very bitterly that certain foreigners had pulled down Hungarian employees; they had pulled down the prices on the labor market, because they take on various seasonal jobs for much less pay.

[Announcer] I imagine that they are the ones who are not waiting for refugee status, but might try to obtain settlement permits.

[Toth] Perhaps those who you have just mentioned might be classified in the set of 100,000, who we cannot register, because they arrived in the country with tourist passports in their pockets. Furthermore, according to the agreements, no one is obligated for 30 days to give an account of how he or she spends the time which originally was intended for sightseeing or visiting relatives.

[Announcer] Is there a plan regarding what could be done if there were 100,000 people here illegally, or if there were 100,000 people in Hungary? [passage omitted] Is Hungary planning any measures, for example as in Austria, for introducing a system of compulsory visas for countries for which such a thing did not exist earlier? Does Hungary have such planned measures, concepts?

[Toth] Several kinds of replies to this question are possible. There is a wish in public opinion for there to be, let me say, more order. That is why they supported—according to indications we received—the police action intended at filtering out those who were staying here. I am also thinking of the administrative measures that pertain to entering the country, for example Austria could be mentioned, which introduced compulsory visas after a short time of deliberation. I believe that the Hungarian leadership would decide to do such a thing only in the last resort.

[Announcer] These are unfriendly gestures, is that not so?

[Toth] They are unfriendly gestures, which can only reduce the degree of inflow. I should like to reiterate that the leveling out of the labour market is not expedient if it produces only administrative replies at the level of state administration. The issue ought to be approached from a more distant perspective. The demand is partly justified that there should be state administrative measures—in part, organizational measures—which are able to handle the entire proceeds as an entirety. I have to say that now in Hungary there is no central organ which might have this task. So there are only partial tasks, and I, for example, represent the refugee affairs part in the totality. Other parts include immigration, citizenship applications, and work permits, and I could go on listing. [passage omitted]

Sejm Adopts Resolution on Government Resignation

LD1412110890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1032 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Resolution read and adopted at Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] The Sejm of the Polish Republic, as a result of the submitted application by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and following an agreement with the president of the Polish Republic, on the basis of Article 37, Paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the Polish Republic, recalls the Council of Ministers. The Sejm at the same time entrusts the government with the further discharge of its duties until a new Council of Ministers is appointed.

Jacek Merkel To Head President's Chancellery

LD1312192890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] The president elect has made his first staff appointment. Jacek Merkel, recently chief of Lech Walesa's electoral staff, is to be called to the post of head of the president's chancellery.

Walesa Victory Holds 'Promise of a Better Future'

AU1312124990 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Dec 90 p 1

[Kazimierz Woycicki commentary: "A Vote For Democracy and Reform"]

[Text] Lech Walesa is the first postwar president of Poland elected in free elections. He has stated that he wants to be a president of all the Poles. Poland, a country that is undergoing radical political and economic reforms, a country that is picking itself up from the ruin of 40 years of communist rule, needs a president who will seek to secure the support of all citizens and not just of his own supporters. After the results of the second round it would appear that the Gdansk leader has all the chances of becoming a president of all those Poles who desire democracy, reforms, and a closer links with Europe.

In the difficult period after the first round of voting the Poles once again showed their steadiness and their political judgment. Contrary to the exorbitant claims made by Tyminski who tried to exploit the difficult situation of the country, the voters chose democracy, a continuation of the present reforms, rule of law, and the hard road of economic reforms. They rejected wild promises and miracle cures. The Poles proved themselves able to identify and choose what was in the state's best interest, rejecting the divisions which appeared in the "Solidarity" and democratic camp. Over 90 percent of Mazowiecki's supporters, including Prime Minister Mazowiecki himself, did not refuse Walesa the benefit of their vote.

Walesa's victory—the only serious candidate from the "Solidarity" camp in the second round—was never in doubt, but it happened after a most dramatic election campaign. It also became clear that the forces of the old order, servants of the former security services and mechanisms of suppression are still very much capable of politically mobilizing themselves. Tyminski tried to harness this potential.

The campaign also highlighted other matters, for example, loopholes in the electoral law, the weakness of the forces that stand guard over the security of the state, the superficiality of Polish journalism, suspicion of the majority of the Polish public towards the mass media, and finally a lack of professionalism among our politicians. Above all, we saw how many people in Poland have been driven to desperation, have lost hope, are indifferent to the beneficial effects of the changes, and who feel themselves forgotten. The duty of all democratic forces in Poland is to cooperate with all those people who have a right to feel aggrieved and to protest. This is the crucial lesson that every Polish politician and citizen has to memorize.

The dramatic developments of the Polish election campaign illustrates that the lesson for all the democracies of the world is that the immature democracies awakening to the realities of democratic life in a post-communist Europe, need much stronger support and decisive help.

Soon, the parliamentary elections will be upon us. The last few weeks have seen the destructive effects that slandering political opponents, attacks on civic authorities, and the undermining of trust in the institutions of our civic life, can produce. Such an approach only increases the danger of mob mentality, chaos, and instability. Maintaining respect in public life is an essential element of our political culture. It is especially needed at times of sharp discussions and when various political camps with different views are being forged. Poland needs a government which will enjoy widespread respect, it must have a central authority that will be trusted by its citizens, and it needs a loyal, but critically honest opposition.

All the events of the recent past show how difficult it is to build Poland's future, how enormous is the task that faces society and Walesa. We must also stress the historical significance of 9 December 1990. For the first time since the war and after 40 years of oppression, we have elected a Polish president. This is the day that whole generations of Poles waited for. It is a day of great joy, a day that holds the promise of a better future for Poland.

Editorial Calls on Walesa To Unify the Nation

AU1312131790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10 Dec 90 p 1

[Adam Michnik editorial: "President Walesa"]

[Text] Lech Walesa has been elected president. The majority of voters have made their choice. No doubt we

shall often return to analyze all that happened in Poland in 1990. Now, only one thing is important. The Polish president has been elected democratically in a general election. The highest public office in the Polish state demands respect and loyalty from all Polish citizens. We hereby declare such loyalty.

In the past we often gave reasons why we were opposed to Walesa's candidacy in the first round of these elections. In the second round we chose to change our position.

We have elected a distinguished politician, leader of "Solidarity," a Nobel prize winner, in short, a man who is very well known throughout the world. Now, we shall become loyal critics or even supporters of the president's political line, as becomes an independent newspaper. We shall continue to defend the same values we have supported in the past—sovereignty of the state, democracy, a parliamentary system, market economy, respect for civil rights, and tolerance for those who choose to think differently. We shall not be insisting that he implements those of his preelectoral promises which we considered as unrealistic right from the start. We leave this matter to the voters' judgment.

Lech Walesa presents a very fragmented image these days. At one and the same time he is a legend of recent Polish history and the architect of the "war at the top." He is both the great destroyer of the communist system and the main mover behind the "Solidarity" rift. How will he finally go down in Polish history books? Which facet of his image will he choose now? Will it be the rhetoric of promises, a close political coterie, the philosophy of rule by decree and political axe, or will it be realism, responsibility, and respect for pluralism and the rule of law?

The first indications will come from the way he assembles the new government and from his attitude to the Balcerowicz program. The program, even with amendments, is the sole guarantee of Poland's credibility in the world. Only this course will lead Poland to emerge as a normal, democratic, and prosperous country.

A new picture of Poland is emerging from the frenzy of the election campaign. It shows a picture of a society that is still full of intellectual chaos, desire for a strong-arm government, xenophobia, and aggressive populist demands. The new president has a great responsibility. He must strive to remove these symptoms. He must see to it that everyone in and outside Poland comes to believe that this picture of Poland is false one.

If he sets out to do this he can count on our support.

Walesa Slogan Encourages 'A New Beginning'

AU1412094590 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 10 Dec 90 pp 1,2

["(ac)"-signed commentary: "Hopes For A New Beginning"]

[Text] The second round of the elections ended an election campaign that had lasted over two months. The election fever is over, the bazaar of election promises and Peruvian tricks has closed, and the voters have clearly spoken out in favor of a path laid down not by empty promises, but by necessity and concrete problems, in the hope that they will now encounter experience and responsibility, and not hidden danger from a new president. Lech Walesa is now facing these problems. They are all the more serious because the election campaign has revealed thick layers of social frustration, which means than the Polish president must not only answer the challenges posed by economics and politics, but also liberate new hopes and dissolve the apathy of those disappointed with the speed and outcome of the Polish changes.

"A new beginning," Lech Walesa's election slogan, became the slogan of his presidency on 9 December. In this way, the slogan loses its function of whipping up emotions at election meetings, and assumes a new function of encouraging people to be active and make them want to take part in a new stage of Poland's entry into European normality.

We know the scale of Poland's problems, and realize how much work is in store for all of us. We know how difficult it is to achieve success, and how difficult will continue to be in the immediate future. So what expectations can one attach to Lech Walesa's presidency straight after the elections?

The fundamental issue seems to be to establish full, honest dialogue with a society that is very tired and worried about the future. Holding talks and meetings with various milieus and convincing them of the correctness of the principles inherent in the "new beginning" concept is the most urgent matter, which permits hopes that Walesa's election appeal "take Poland into your own hands" will become a new formula for the exercising of power. A feeling of communion for the sake of the common good may emerge out of the difficult work of coordinating stances and conducting real social dialogue.

One hopes that from the very beginning, Walesa's Presidency will perpetuate the path of change and create the conviction that successive actions and decisions will be not just empty gestures made under pressure of time, but premeditated moves. One also hopes that no changes will occur to the rules of the Polish game designed to attain modernity. Let the law on the economy, taxes, and ownership undergo changes—everyone understands the need for such changes—but let all those subject to these laws rest assured that these changes will not be caused by further episodes of history. Apart from urgent changes that bring rapid results, there is a need for a desire to invest in the future, and certain legal guarantees are required for this.

But most of all, Walesa's Presidency is a great challenge for all of us who voted for him. This enormous pillar of support must be perpetuated, must form a natural base

for presidential authority. But this support must be provided not just by elites, a form sought by the government recently, but by the whole of society gathered in parties and trade unions and subscribing to a program of change initiated by a strong presidency.

And one more thing. Embarking on the road to a modern democracy, we consider the presence of an opposition quite natural. The elections have shown that there will be an opposition. Although it has been weakened by the election defeat, it is still vociferous and determined to fight for the ideals of its leadership. Considering the prospects of Walesa's presidency, one hopes the opposition will help form Poland's future and propagate its own alternative programs, instead of demagogically criticizing a victorious program that has been chosen by society.

Political Winners, Losers in Election Viewed

AU1312180790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8-9 Dec 90 pp 6,7

[Wojciech Mazarski commentary: "The Losers and the Winners"]

[Excerpts] When Mazowiecki was forming his government in 1989, observers of the Polish political scene were convinced that his would be a transitional government. Mazowiecki's team was faced by the task of implementing a painful, unpopular, but unavoidable stabilization and restructuring program which was bound to hit hard all social groups. It is not surprising that everybody pointed to a possible wave of social protest that might topple the government after it had done the "dirty work." In reality, the government did fall. The problem is that although the fall of the cabinet was prophesied, nobody imagined that it would also entail a collapse of the prestige and a rejection of the intellectual and political elite which spearheaded "Solidarity" in the years 1980-1989. All the late 1989 predictions said that the government—but not the authority of very competent and deserving circles—would fall. What we have witnessed is the castration of the Polish political class.

Now, a group of people with questionable credentials—but large appetites and ambitions (with a few exceptions, of which more later)—aspire to take over the places vacated by the former elites. [passage omitted]

The absence of any social protest in the first few months of the government's new reform program was probably one of the factors that led to the later complications. It is quite obvious that government circles interpreted this calm as a sign of society's approval for the logic behind the reforms, that society was consciously accepting the reforms, and was fully aware of the unavoidable consequences of the Balcerowicz plan.

Now, everything shows that the tacit acceptance of the strict stabilization program had an irrational factor, best illustrated by the words: "Since all those whom we trust are saying things must be so, then there seems to be no way out." This sort of approval for the program, based on trust in a political elite, is by its very nature weak and will only prevail as long as the elite sticks together and as long as the burden that society is exhorted to bear does not exceed a critical mass. If this happens, the credibility of the governing group collapses. [passage omitted]

Either way, the final reason for the government's fall was society's lack of comprehension for the essential point of the program that came to be known as the Balcerowicz plan. One has to admit that the Mazowiecki team is not totally without blame here.

First, it erroneously supposed that the majority of citizens fully understood what the majority of economists pronounced as self-evident. As a result of this, the implemented program only began to pay attention to the requirements of economic rationale and increasingly neglected the social and psychological preconditions for the reforms. [passage omitted]

The second mistake was to neglect any sort of information policy. During one of her early press conferences the government's spokesperson stated that in a democratic state the role of informing public opinion belongs to the media and not government agencies. It was assumed that society would understand the government's moves and that journalists would be honest and effective conduits for the transmission of information and honest comment.

In practice, things turned out differently. The information was scanty and formulated in such a way as to make it unintelligible for the general public. It was also devoid of all didactic element, a necessary element, given the level of our present social awareness. Looking at it with hindsight, Poland quite clearly needed a broad educational program that would explain the principles upon which a market economy functions and not just a more effective information policy. [passage omitted]

Another mistake was to suppose that the strong ties the ruling elite had with the trade union and citizens' committees movements would endure and that there would not be fragmentation within the "Solidarity" camp, groups which could seize the opportunities presented by the process of reconstructing a democracy. [passage omitted]

This naive approach of the ruling group can only be explained by an excess of optimism when evaluating of human character. The Mazowiecki camp's primary aim was the transformation of a socialist economy into a capitalist market system. Nobody suspected that separate groups within the "Solidarity" movement could appear and would want to make political capital out of the difficulties generated by the reform program. It was naively thought that as the goals were the same and as everybody under the "Solidarity" umbrella had agreed that the Balcerowicz plan must be continued with such-and-such amendments, there was no need for the critics

of the present line to assume the role of an opposition and seek to topple the government. [passage omitted]

The Mazowiecki camp was prepared for external attacks from the forces that represent former powers. It was helpless when the attack came from the least expected quarter, namely, from Gdansk. The government duly fell, after having done much of the initial "dirty work."

In a democracy, such a turn of events is a normal occurrence. The problem in Poland is that there are now many factors that indicate that the process will simply stop with a change of the ruling team. Poland is in danger of losing the hard-won results of the last few months.

By declaring a "war at the top," Walesa promised that this would ensure "peace at a grassroots level." Even a cursory look at the political scene shows he was wrong. Jaroslaw Kaczynski defended Walesa's argument another way. He concluded that the split engineered by the chairman would save part of the "Solidarity" camp from a loss of authority. All social dissatisfaction would be directed at the government and its elites while Walesa would still have a clean bill of health and be able to continue the reforms as a figure who enjoys wide prestige and trust.

The results of the elections have shown that this is not so. Let us assume, however, that the Center Accord leader is right—the burden carried by society might have reached critical mass at some stage and this could have led to an explosion of general unrest against the whole "Solidarity" camp. If such revolt took place no generally respected authority could have survived and the Polish ship of state would have started to drift. [passage omitted]

Nobody from Walesa's camp has shown conclusively that society's faith had collapsed in Spring 1990. This has only happened now, six months after Walesa's declaration of "war at the top." Given this situation, one can sympathize with the argument put forward by Walesa's opponents, namely, that it was the split he engineered which led to the increase in social disaffection. By launching a campaign aimed at the government's policies and fanning conflicts within the previously solid "Solidarity" camp, he undermined the public's confidence in the logic and the relevance of shouldering the cost of reforms. [passage omitted]

It is Balcerowicz who has lost in these elections. About 80 percent of the electorate voted against his economic program. The elections were a kind of referendum: "Do you agree to the continuation of the present economic line?" What is worse, this referendum came at the worst possible time, when all the negative effects were clearly visible, but the first positive signs were only just beginning to appear (growth in real wages, pulling out of recession). [passage omitted]

The new president will walk through the doors of the Belweder Palace with the knowledge that he has won and that his former myth has taken a severe bruising. Only 40 percent voted for him in the first round. What is even worse is that his camp, as well as the camp of his main rival, is awash with claims and expectations that "things will be better" right from the word go. [passage omitted]

It looks as if Walesa as president could find himself snared in the trap of his own preelection rhetoric. It would appear that the option of having Balcerowicz in the government no longer exists. First, in the present situation, the deputy prime minister—as the main loser of these elections—will have no opportunity of trying to salvage the remnants of his economic program and it is very unlikely he will want to play a figurehead role. Second, and more important, his name is still anathema to many of Walesa's supporters. If Balcerowicz remains in the government it will be interpreted as treason by Walesa's people. They did not vote for Walesa only to find a continuation of the Balcerowicz plan.

Nor can Walesa count on the support of the Mazowiecki group. This group has decided to found its own party and move into opposition (with the intention of securing a victory in the upcoming parliamentary elections).

Thus, Walesa has found himself in a difficult situation. Not being able to count on support form the Mazowiecki camp, he must take full responsibility for Poland. He has to select a cabinet from his own people. He does have a few efficient politicians (for example, Jaroslaw Kaczynski) and a few centers that have some inkling about the economy (mainly the activists from the Gdansk- based Liberal Democratic Congress), and people of the caliber of Andrzej Machalski.

It does not seem though, that this political base will be sufficient to guide the country forward. [passage omitted]

Walesa is thus faced by a choice, either he puts the economy into the hands of competent people—part of this group is in his camp—but this will be equivalent to turning his back on the majority of his electorate, or he allows himself to be swayed by the tide of expectation in society and destroys the economy, which has begun to get up on its own two feet for the first time in 45 years (the sign of this—contrary to the howling of various economic quacks—is the healthy effect the recession has had and which has made the production of dear, shoddy, and outdated goods that nobody wants to buy, completely unprofitable.)

Is there no way out?

It would seem that for the near future the outlook is bleak. This is illustrated by the hardline position of Mazowiecki's representatives. They seem to be saying: "You have made your bed, now lie on it," to the conciliatory gestures now being made by Walesa.

It seems that, given time, there are prospects for a kind of conciliation, or rather, a contract, and this will become possible, indeed necessary, if Walesa chooses the option of saving all that has been achieved in the

economy throughout the last year and does not succumb to populist pressures. Such an alliance may be easier when after a few months it transpires that the present day divisions—more personal ambition rather than political difference—lose most of their sting. It is quite obvious that the only difference between the Forum of the Democratic Right and the Liberal Democratic Congress is of a personal (Walesa or Mazowiecki) rather than a political nature. Walesa's weak victory in the elections could also ensure that his own vision of the Presidency could itself undergo a radical change. Personal animosities will remain, but the "war at the top" will cease.

One change in Polish political life seems to be irreversible, namely, that fall 1990 saw the end of the epoch of "Solidarity" as one homogeneous movement which embraced all citizens of goodwill who were struggling against communism. From now on we shall simply have a normal political game, tactical alliances and coalitions, and parliamentary shifts. It had to be so. I personally think that all this has come about 18 months too early.

For the time being, the "war at the top" continues. Who lost? Balcerowicz, Mazowiecki, the government, and contrary to all appearances, Walesa himself. Who won? Cimoszewicz and Tyminski. The second round will show how big the latter's victory has been.

Government Daily Outlines Presidential Powers

AU1312122690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Dec 90 pp 1,2

[Bozena Wawrzewska article: "How Much Power?"]

[Text] When the State Electoral Commission announces the final results of the first presidential general election in Poland, the speaker of the Sejm will convene the Sejm and Senate, i.e. the National Assembly, which will confirm the validity of the elections and administer an oath to the newly-elected president, for the president only assumes his office after he has taken the oath before the National Assembly. That is the moment when his term of office begins

Right now, I do not think anyone is capable of saying what kind of president the first Polish president chosen in a general election will be. Although a general election provides, as it were, a bigger mandate and a greater social qualification to hold office than a vote by the National Assembly would, the powers of the head of state are strictly defined by the Constitution. They are set out in the 7 April 1989 constitutional amendment, which reintroduced the office of president into Polish political life after a long absence. So what powers does the Constitution that is still in force give the president?

First of all, he is the supreme representative of the Polish state in domestic and international affairs. The president supervises the implementation of the Constitution and guards the state's sovereignty and security.

The president should personify a strong executive authority. According to the adopted rules, he will represent Poland in international affairs, seek the appointment or dismissal of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and act as chairman of the National Defense Committee and commander in chief of the Armed Forces. In addition, he will decree parliamentary and local government elections. He can dissolve the Sejm for three reasons: if the Sejm fails to adopt a budget within three months, if it fails to appoint a government within three months, and if it adopts a resolution or passes a law that violates the powers of the president as far as his supervision over the Constitution, state security, and political and military alliances are concerned. The president may dissolve the parliament if one of the above three circumstances occurs, but is not obliged to do so. However, if he does want to do so, first he has to gain the approval of the speakers of the Sejm and Senate. A dissolution of the Sejm causes an automatic dissolution of the Senate. The Senate, however, cannot dissolve itself.

Theoretically, the Senate-Sejm-president relationship is equal in all directions, because the parliament can recall the president in the same way as the president can dissolve parliament. That is not the case in reality, neither in Poland nor anywhere else. In any case, in many countries there are no hard and fast rules determining when the president can dissolve parliament. In Italy, for example, there are no rules saying when that can happen. In fact, the Italian Parliament can be dissolved whenever the prime minister thinks fit and the president concurs.

The Polish president can also question an act of parliament either by referring it to the Constitutional Tribunal for examination or sending it back to the Sejm for reconsideration. He can also order an amendment to the act. If the Sejm passes the act a second time (this time it must do so by a two-thirds majority of votes with a quorum of at least half of all deputies), then the president is obliged to sign it.

The president has no right to issue decrees. But he does have the right to issue directives based on acts of parliament or for the purpose of implementing these acts.

The Constitution also allows the president to convene and even chair the Council of Ministers on important issues. In such a case, the prime minister would be a mere member of the council. That is a typical situation in France, where the president overshadows the prime minister, who nevertheless acts independently when there are no matters of supreme importance.

The meaning of "supreme importance" is subject to individual interpretation.

The president can also impose martial law for three months, which can be extended once only for a further three months if the Sejm and Senate agree. During martial law the president cannot dissolve parliament,

alter the Constitution, or change the election rules. If the Sejm's term of office expires under martial law, the term of office automatically continues for a further three months after the end of the martial law period.

The president appoints and recalls ambassadors; receives their credentials; bestows orders, decorations, and titles; and grants amnesty. In other words he does all the things all heads of state do, regardless of the extent of their power.

The president can also initiate legislation.

Therefore we know what the president can do to the prime minister; he can hire and fire him. We also know what the president can do to the Sejm; he can dissolve it under certain conditions. But what can the Sejm do to a bad president? It can make him face the State Tribunal. Last year's constitutional amendment says that the president is answerable to the State Tribunal if he violates the Constitution or a law, or if he commits a felony. The decision to make him face the Tribunal is reached by the National Assembly by at least a two-thirds majority of votes.

The powers of the president have not changed at the same time as the change in the election rules, but the tasks of the National Assembly have. The National Assembly may enthrone or dethrone the president. It confirms the validity of an election and administers the presidential oath. It can decide that the president is medically unfit to serve, and it can indict him on a charge. Let me add the presidential chair can be vacated before the expiry of his term of office for the following reasons: death, resignation, a National Assembly decision that he is medically unfit to serve; and a decree by the State Tribunal that he must stand down.

In relations between the Sejm and the president, there is one more interesting issue that has not been fully clarified—the president can dissolve the Sejm if the Sejm prevents him from fulfilling his constitutional duties. But what if the Sejm wants to abolish the office of president altogether and amend the Constitution accordingly? If the president can dissolve parliament when it restricts his authority, can he not also do so if parliament goes one step further and abolishes his office, introducing, for example, a monarchy in his place, or dividing up his powers among a corporate body?

Of course, the present state of affairs is transitional. Work is in progress on a new constitution which will lay down the position of president, the significance of parliament, and the role of the government. But for a few months at least we will have to make do with a very strange structure of authority—a Sejm that theoretically can do anything but whose social mandate is the result of not so much an election as a political deal; and a president who has strong social support, resulting from a general election, but who is dressed in a suit that was made for someone else.

It is interesting how he will use these powers, for the president can exert great influence over what is going on in the country, especially if one accepts that, regardless of the extent of his powers, he is not just a stabilizer of state democratic order, but also a guarantor of the inviolability of this order.

So the president may fulfill a multifarious role. He can be head of state, which includes ceremonies and representational duties. Such a role is played by the presidents of the FRG and Italy, for example. He can be the chief executive of the country, holding in his hand a strong executive power, as is partly the case in the United States and Latin American countries. Or he can play the role of arbiter and mediator, something in between the two abovementioned functions, like the president of France. In such a case, he does not indulge in the day-to-day running of the country, because he is in a certain sense too serious for that. When the Army in Spain attempted a putsch, a colonel actually entered the Cortes, made the deputies lie on the floor, and terrorized them with a gun. The king, as head of state, resolved the situation with his authority and sent the Army back to barracks.

As of today, Poland is facing what is to all intents and purposes a brand new political reality. A president has appeared with a large social mandate because he has been chosen in a general election, a man in whom a major part of the electorate is vesting major expectations. On the other hand, the political reality and the existence of a parliament created as a result of a now defunct deal, not to mention the political regulations, may considerably interfere with the president's fulfillment of these expectations.

How will the president resolve these issues, how will he fit them into the corset of existing legislation? Will he choose the role of arbiter and intervene mainly on the basis of his prestige, or will he opt for another model of presidential power? The answer will come during the next few months, during which we will all learn democracy and the president will accumulate totally new experience.

Council of Ministers Meets on Cultural Activities

LD1312065190 Warsaw PAP in English 2318 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—The Council of Ministers today passed a draft law on cultural activities.

The main aim of this document is to efficiently protect the already existing material base of culture and the development of culture despite difficulties related to the transformation of the country and to steer culture towards more rational functioning, in tune with the changed roles of the state, local self-governments, and private and social initiative.

The council proposed in the draft to grant the legal status to cultural institutions and to enable them to take part in a wide range of economic activities.

The Council of Ministers also adopted a draft amendment of the law on land management and the expropriation of real estates. The proposed amendment refers first of all to compensations for Polish citizens whose property remained on territories which currently are not within the boundaries of the Polish state.

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft law on the change of names of some of the Polish higher schools. Proposed changes include seven higher schools and correspond with motions lodged by schools' senates.

Members of the Council of Ministers also adopted several resolutions concerning the termination of four international agreements linked with Poland's membership in the CEMA.

These are agreements on scientific, technological and economic cooperation. "Interatomenergo", "Interelektro", "Interrobot", and a general agreement on the creation of an international centre of informatics and electronics.

Joint USSR Troop Talks Address Transit Issue

LD1312065590 Warsaw PAP in English 2323 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—We have worded over 90 percent of the text of a treaty on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, thus, a considerable step has been made forward, chairman of a Polish delegation, director of the Department of Europe at the Foreign Ministry Grzegorz Kostrzewa-Zorbas said after the end of Polish-Soviet negotiations held here on Dec. 11 and 12.

He added that both sides did not differ much with regard to still unsettled issues, the date of the withdrawal of Soviet troops being the most important of them. So far this issue has not been discussed during negotiations as it should be solved by the heads of the governments or states concerned. The Polish side continues to propose late December 1991 for this operation, and it has informed the Soviet partner on its stand.

The sides also exchanged views on the basic principles of the transit of Soviet troops via Poland. They have already prepared preliminary drafts of a treaty in this respect, to be discussed in Moscow next January.

It is in the interest of Poland that the decision on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland be made before or at the time of Poland giving its consent to the transit of USSR troops moving from the former GDR, Kostrzewa-Zorbas stressed. For the transit operation cannot begin before the operation of withdrawal. For some time both operations will be simultaneous, and payments for them will be similar. So far no sums have been agreed upon, moreover, they have not been discussed yet, he said.

Practically, the only concrete figures have been mentioned in the Soviet draft, and they are 11 thousand railway convoys and three thousand columns of vehicles.

Further Developments in TU-Government Dispute

New Round of Talks Held 13 Dec

AU1312165890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1604 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—The talks conducted within the joint government-trade union [TU] commission were resumed at the government headquarters. This is the third such meeting, now centering on problems related to work legislation and social protection.

The government is represented to the talks by Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica, minister secretary of state in charge of the quality of life and social protection, Mr. Adrian Severin, minister, assistant to the prime minister for the reform and relations with parliament, other ministers and department heads, and the trade unions are represented by the leaders of the largest national trade union confederations and federations.

Brasov TU Does Not Join Strike

AU1312165690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1606 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—The Brasov Territorial Trade Union convention held an extraordinary meeting on December 12 deciding that the strike scheduled in Brasov over December 17-21 be called off.

A communique from the Brasov Territorial Trade Union Convention shows that in the period to follow the convention will be solidarity with the actions of the trade unions in its membership and that it will attend no event organized by political parties and civic organizations and association. At the same time, the convention protests against the government's statement in connection with the political character of trade union actions and against the attribute of trade union nomenklatura. Through the moratorium it instituted the government wanted to conclude a social pact with the trade unions, recognizing the national trade union movement as a partner and not as a political opponent, the communique shows. Therefore, we ask the Romanian Government to pass on to palpable measures on an economic and social plane to lead to the eradication of old structures and to dynamize the socioeconomic life in a true, responsible social protection.

Further Developments in Students' Strikes Reported

Mathematics Faculty Students Begin Strike

AU1212220490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2124 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—The students of the Faculty of Mathematics of the Bucharest University have declared general strike for an indefinite period of time, in token of solidarity with the initiative of the Bucharest Student Convention.

The strike that started on December 12, at eight o'clock, will continue until the granting of all claims included in the program of the above-mentioned convention. The students demand, among other things, the Romanian Parliament's official branding of the former Communist Party, the public investigation of the persons that are guilty of the consequences of the December 1989 repression, the accusation of the Radio Television for the role played on June 13-15, the organization of a national referendum on the country's form of government and Constitution, suspension by the Parliament of President Ion Iliescu and his investigation about the role played in the June 13-15 events.

About 350 of the faculty's some 2,000 students participate in the strike, enrolled under signature. The students who wish to continue the courses may do so, by enrolling in a separate list.

A member of the Strike Committee mentioned that the action started at the Faculty of Mathematics was independent from the strike organized by the Students' League of the University and that it will proceed only inside the faculty.

Timisoara Strike Continues; No Incidents

AU1312211990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1948 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—In Timisoara, the students' political strike continues, says a ROMPRES local correspondent. Many students, already on holidays, have gone home to join their families. Practically, present in Timisoara's higher education institutes are only strikers' pickets. Meanwhile, some of the students, academic staff and parents keep protesting against the strikers' barring the access to laboratories and lecture halls for students who have not joined in the strike.

No incidents have been reported.

Resita Students Support Timisoara Strike

AU1312143290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1106 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/12/1990—On Wednesday afternoon, the aula of the Technological Engineering Faculty in Resita, hosted a meeting of the students in the day and evening courses. The representatives of the Students' Free Union presented before the audience, students on strike, and teaching staff, a list of requests concerning the change of the faculty's executives and of a number of compromised teachers, the improvement of their studying and living conditions, and equipment for that higher education institution. These requests were forwarded through petitions both to the Caras- Severin County Prefecture and to the Ministry of Education and Science.

Also attending was Mr. Liviu Spataru, prefect of the county, who, consequently to the talks with the students, granted some of the requests and set firm terms for solutions to other problems.

The Resita students expressed their solidarity with the Timisoara students' strike, as far as non-political requests are concerned. They also decided to continue the general strike until their requests that the executives and compromised teachers be dismissed are fulfilled.

Craiova Students Begin Strike 13 Dec

AU1312211490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2024 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—General strike was started at the Faculties of Letters and Agronomy of the Craiova University, and a partial strike participated in by the students of the higher grades—at the Automation and Sciences Faculty.

As shown by Professor Mircea Ivanescu, D., rector of the university, to ROMPRES correspondent, the Craiova students demand the urgent passing in the Parliament of the law of university autonomy and of the bill of education. They demand the improving of the facilities in students' hostels and canteens, fringe benefits like railway and road transport allowances, places in holiday and treatment camps, the reconsideration of the hours at which education activities should start.

Students Demand Iliescu, Roman Resign

AU1412094590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0830 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/12/1990— On Thursday a communique released by the League of the Polytechnic Institute was read during the meeting of the striking students at that institute. The communique demanded, on behalf of the participants in the strike, the resignation of President Ion Iliescu from the office of Romania's president, the dismissal of Prime Minister Petre Roman and the replacement of the current government by a national unity government as well as the preparation and organisation of anticipated general elections.

Messrs. Stelian Tanase and Silviu Popescu, on behalf of the Civic Alliance and of the Acting Committee for Democratising Armed Forces, respectively, expressed the solidarity and support of the organisations they represented for the action of the several students on strike at the Polytechnic Institute.

Civic Alliance Supports Students' Strike

AU1412055990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2049 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—The proceedings of the National Conference of the Civic Alliance, to run for three days, opened at the Romanian Athenaeum on Thursday.

In his opening address, Mr. Mihai Sora, former minister of education in the provisional government, made assessments in connection with the Alliance's targets. A moment's silence was kept in memory of the victims of the December 1989 revolution.

The work of the Civic Alliance National Conference continued with the appeal to dialogue, read by actor Stefan Radof, asking President Iliescu to openly analyse the current problems with the repesentatives of the Civic Alliance, in front of the country, in a prime time live TV broadcast.

Then writer Stelian Tanase read "The Heartfelt Message" to Dumitru Iuga, with whom the Civic Alliance is sympathetic, but whom it asked to put an end to his hunger strike "in order to spare his life".

Iulian Cornateanu read the Civic Alliance statutes and Vasile Diaconescu proposals for the organizational structure of the Civic Alliance. Among the speakers of the conference first day were Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu, Octavian Paler, Dr. Feier, representing Timisoara Universitary Solidarity, Adrian Marino, representative of Cluj Antitotalitarian Forum.

Corneliu Coposu, president of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party, Toma George Maiorescu, president of the Romanian Ecological Movement, Deputy Ion Ratiu, Marian Munteanu, president of Bucharest Universitary League were invited and participated in the conference.

The first day of conference ended with the adoption of a declaration of solidarity with the strike of the students' leaders, which the Civic Alliance consider "a legitimate protest".

The conference will continue, tomorrow, Friday, December 14.

AZI Protests Demonstrations, Strike

AU1312194290 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 8 Dec 90 p 1

[Calin Bucovanu article: "We Are Fed Up!"]

[Text] I am one of the thousands of students who voted for the National Salvation Front [FSN] and who support this political group, the government, and President Ion Iliescu. In the past days, there has been more and more talk among certain groups about starting a general student strike with political claims. I do not know whether this is an internal initiative or whether these are attempts to apply the same scenario found in Bulgaria. I would, however, like to share some of my thoughts with those who are preparing the strike.

Gentlemen, in case you are not aware of it and you are simple mercenaries, then you should learn that you do not have any chance of success in what you want. There are two motives which prevent you from succeeding: First, the former communists were in power in Bulgaria,

while in Romania nobody believes any longer in your famous aberration "FSN=PCR" [Romanian Communist Party], especially since it has become obvious that the current government leads a center-oriented policy; second, we, who believe in the Front, government, and the president are fed up. Yes, we are fed up seeing that there is no respect for our political option and we are fed up with aggression, persecution, and being hurt by a bunch of hooligans (the term suits you perfectly). We are fed up with the atmosphere of terror created by you, we are fed up with hearing knocks at our doors at 0200 in the morning, we are fed up with the bottles that break near us when we pass a student hostel, and we are fed up with the drunk students who shout all night long "Down!." You take advantage of the fact that you have had the experience of three-five-seven years of higher education while torturing the institute, that you are tougher and lack scruples even in front of the fair sex, and that you want to impose silence on everybody who wants to think and speak in a logical manner. You take advantage of the fact that the great majority of our students are busy studying and you want to put forward the idea that you represent the Romanian students. You! If this were the case, I would be ashamed to say that I was a student. Be very careful gentlemen! You have stretched the band of our patience to the maximum; it is dangerous to force it any further because it might snap and then it will be terrible for you who have been terrorizing us for 11 months. For the last time, we beg you, leave us in peace to attend to our studies and stop provoking us because we will respond in a way that you cannot even imagine.

Special Parliament Session Requested

AU1312114490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0950 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/12/1990—The Convention of Students' Organisations in Timisoara sent to ROMPRES national agency a communique which shows that, on behalf of their colleagues now on a strike, the Convention of the Students' Organisations in Timisoara welcomes with emotion and gratitude the wish of their brothers in Bessarabia to transform the day of December 16—the day when Timisoara started the fight against communism in Romania—into a symbol of all Romanians' solidarity. In that context they make public the request addressed to Romania's Parliament to call up a special session on December 16, 1990 to condemn the Soviet aggression on June 26, 1940 against Romania. They also propose to officially inform the USSR Supreme Soviet and the leadership of the Soviet State.

Cluj Returning to Normal Despite Student Strike

AU1412092590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2206 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—In Cluj, in spite of calls to general strike by groups acting on behalf of the Cluj Students' Convention and of the Romanian Students' League Confederation, until 13 December the call has been far from stirring the large students mass. For instance, at the Babes-Bolyai University, in spite of the difficulties posed by the strike, academic activities go on almost normally. At the Institute of Agronomy only part of the veterinary students are on strike, while the students of the Agriculture, Horticulture and Animal Husbandry Departments, in agreement with their academic staff, have so far chosen to continue the normal course of the educational process. In other higher education institutes in Cluj-Napoca the situation is almost similar. Part of the students have gone home, thus repudiating the strikes underway. Students regard with suspicion the leaders' actions which, basides such social claims like improvement of living conditions, reduced fares for railway transport, higher scholarships etc., place political claims at the top of the list.

Police Communique on 10-11 Dec Demonstrations

AU1412153590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1448 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—On December 10 and 11, 1990, University Square was again the site of unauthorised demonstrations, public order was disturbed as the carriageway was blocked, thus creating the premises for violent actions of a kind already known to the population, the press office of the Bucharest Police says in a communique.

The police, asked by citizens through repeated calls to clear the way, took the necessary measures, acting under orders not to use force.

At the arrival of the police and gendarmes, the people occupying the carriage cleared it without incidents, but within 30 minutes from the withdrawal of the police the road was blocked again.

When the police and gendarmes came back, the persons who had blocked both the way and the sidewalks reacted violently, throwing stones. Several police officers and soldiers were injured, and a number of transportation means of the police and gendarmes were battered.

The communique reveals the tendentious presentation of the facts in some publications, which aims at discrediting the police and disinforming the population.

RFE Report on 'Pre-Academic' Strikes Denied

AU1312085990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2352 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/12/1990—A news item released on Wednesday morning by the Free Europe Radio [RFE] station according to which the teaching staff in the pre-academic education went on strike, stirred protests from collectives of educators, school masters, teachers, experts in the school network of Vrancea County, where some 90,000 pupils are taught by a teaching corps of about 4,000.

There is no strike action of teaching staff in Buzau County, either and the instruction activity of the 116,000 pupils there, taught by 5,200 teachers, is going through the routine of the incoming end of the first school trimestre.

FSN's Iordache on Trade Unions, Civic Alliance

AU1312211790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1959 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—The National Salvation Front [FSN] will not forget its pledges even at such difficult moments when less is produced than consumed and when Romania's encirclement tends to weaken the state so as to make it less capable to negotiate the legitimate rights in next years' Europe, states Mr. Claudiu Iordache, first vice chairman of the National Salvation Front, in an interview with the daily "ADEVARUL".

In Mr. Iordache's opinion, the current government's policy is an expression of the FSN platform in terms of government. Hence, we support the government more particularly because it has committed itself to make a policy for Romania.

Referring to the current economic and political situation, Mr. Iordache said, inter alia, that the people was weakened, the production structures were undergoing changes, the social structures were vulnerable because the Romanian citizens still mistook the communist state's excessive paternal authority for the commandments of a state of law; from a moral point of view, we are risking dangerous skidding, he added.

As for the current T.U. movement, Mr. Claudiu Iordache assesses that it "lives its childhood", and he calls attention to the fact that some T.U. leaders make their own policy while being at one or another party's trail though they do not admit it. We think that in a state of law the trade unions have the right to a political option but they must have the courage to tell both the workers they represent and the civil society what their options are, Mr. Iordache underscored. I think in the current situation in Romania a real Social Democratic Party cannot but be to the liking of most of the trade unions in Romania, he also said.

Setting forth his opinions on the Civic Alliance, the collocutor assessed that 80 per cent of its desiderata could be part of an FSN platform. Misunderstandings have occurred when the Civic Alliance maintains that the political power is neo-communist and it protects the communist nomenklatura. The FSN protects nothing of what the communist state meant, as it wishes to build a friendly state and a civil society apt to settle the inherently occurring tension, the collocutor emphasized.

The FSN, propelled by its electorate, seeks for appropriate organizational resources and observes political morality, which will make it become a social democratic party matching any European party of the kind, and promote young and highly competent people.

Showing that the FSN has a modest dowry from an economic point of view since it has only a newspaper and a peripheral and rare access to the television, Mr. Iordache said in conclusion: the only resource we are relying upon is the fidelity and faith of the ones who back the Front.

Civic Alliance Meets; Appeals for Dialogue

AU1312114290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] The proceedings of the national conference of the Civic Alliance began in Bucharest today. After one minute of silence devoted to the memory of the revolution heroes, Mr. Mihai Sora, interim president of the Civic Alliance, emphasized its role as catalyst of all antitotalitarian forces since it does not operate as a political party, but in the bankrupt political area as a factor for creating professional and intellectual competence that will be able to take Romania to the destiny it deserves.

The Civic Alliance, Mr. Sora also pointed out, is not an opposition formation, but a constructive one. It proposes to play the role of a moral authority of the civilian society.

A new appeal for dialogue addressed to Romania's president, Ion Iliescu, was read, as well as a message to Mr. Dumitru Iuga to stop his hunger strike. The conference proceedings continue.

Government Representatives Answer Questions

AU1412092790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2156 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—In the first part of the Assembly of Deputies session the government answered the deputies' questions.

Minister Secretary of State Adrian Severin referred to the main lines of the government's economic policy, reiterating the privatization program and principles and approaching issues related to avoiding inflation, to salary indexing, the government's priorities in the investments policy and the economy structural adjustment, the training of managerial staff. Adrian Severin underlined that however well conceived it were, an economic policy could only bring fruit in a reasonable space of time. The set of laws approved by the Parliament and the normative acts under elaboration, that intertwine organically, offer Romania sure prospects of getting out of the current crisis.

Victor Babiuc, minister of justice, Gheorghe Vladutescu, state secretary to the state secretariat for denominations and Gheorghe Stefan, minister of education, answered questions. Issues were approached concerning the way modifications were being operated to the criminal code

and the code of criminal procedure, the prerogatives, competence and the manner of work of the state secretariat for denominations, the way education state bodies act for defusing the tension existing in a number of university centers.

In the second half of the morning session the Assembly of Deputies passed the bill for modifying the annex to the decision of the Assembly of Deputies No. 13/1990 regarding the structure of the Assembly of Deputies.

Assembly on Bill To Thwart 23 Dec-6 Jan Strikes

AU1212220590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2131 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—In the second half of the session of the Assembly of Deputies a number of bills were approved, including that concerning Romania's adherence to the Basel Convention on the Control of the Transport Beyond Frontiers of Impairing Wastes and Their Elimination, and the bill for ratifying the 2nd optional protocol of the international pact on civil and political rights, in view of abolishing the death penalty.

Ionel Roman, deputy chairman of the Assembly of Deputies read a message addressed to the parliament by the editorial staff of the newspaper "MESAGERUL TRANSILVAN" published at Cluj, proposing a motion to be adopted following debates, forbidding rallies, demonstrations, marches, irrespective of their nature, and strikes to be held over December 23, 1990-January 6, 1991." We forward this proposal, says the message, for allowing the Romanian people to celebrate the winter holidays restored to it by the December revolution, in peace, far from political passions and ambitions, divergent ideas and opinions, natural in a democracy".

The proceedings of this session continue in commissions Wednesday afternoon. The plenary session will be resumed Thursday, December 13, 9 a.m.

Senate Convenes 'Session in Plenum' 12 Dec

Defense, Other Bills Discussed

AU1212214990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2108 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—Romania's Senate had another session in plenum on December 12. The agenda included the bill of the Ministry of the Interior organization and functioning, that was passed, the bill of the Ministry of National Defense organization and functioning, the bill of Romanian citizenship, as well as the bill of the wood stock to be harvested in 1991. Also, the senators debated and endorsed the report on the results of the mediation commission on the settlement of the disputes in connection with the bill of setting up, organization and functioning of the Supreme Council of the country's defense.

Senator Doru Taracila, from the National Salvation Front grouping, called the Senate's attention to the existence in Calarasi county, of three large stores of old books printed before 1800, rare books printed before 1830, books with autographs and valuable documents, all in all almost two million books printed in Romanian and various foreign languages, of outstanding documentary, scientific and cultural value.

As the Ministry of Culture had not taken any step of protection and conservation, the Senate instructed its Standing Bureau to urgently inspect the grave situation of the book stock kept in those improvised stores.

All senators endorsed Mr. Taracila's intimation. Among other things, it was proposed that the respective books should make the first basic stock of the future library of Romania's Parliament.

Citizenship Draft Law Reviewed

AU1412093190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2146 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—The Romanian Senate continued Thursday, 13 December, its debates on the draft law on Romanian citizenship. Discussions on item 25, dealing with annulment of citizenship, were particularly heated and argumented with quotations from other states' constitutions, from treaties and international conventions that Romania is a party to, from the history of Romania and of other countries, boasting long democratic traditions. Finally, the article was approved, with 4 votes against and 9 abstentions. According to this item, Romanian citizenship can be withdrawn from any person that, while abroad, perpetrates acts of utmost gravity that brings prejudice to the Romanian state's interests or impairs Romania's prestige, joins the military corps of a state with which Romania has come to a breach of diplomatic relations or to a state of war, or obtained the Romanian citizenship by fraudulent means.

During the same session, the law, which will become effective 30 days after it sees print in the official bulletin, was adopted in its entirety with 3 votes against and 9 abstentions.

Senate is to resume proceedings Monday, 17 December, 1990.

Further Draft Constitution Provisions Published

AU1312194690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1823 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—The citizens' fundamental rights, freedoms and duties

Chapter 2: Fundamental Rights and Freedoms

10. The press is free. It may in no way be censored, nor shall it be prevented in its free creation and communication of ideas and opinions.

The freedom of the press also implies the freedom to set up periodicals, according to legal provisions.

No publication shall be suspended or dissolved unless it violates constitutional order. It is the constitutional council that shall decided on the suspension or dissolution of a publication.

The provisions under the previous article are correspondingly applicable.

The law may ask the periodical press to make its financial source public.

11. Compulsory general education shall be established by the law.

High-school and vocational education, as well as higher education are accessible to all citizens, according to their skills.

Education of all grades will be in Romanian.

The right of persons belonging to national minorities to learn in their mother tongue or to be instructed in that tongue is guaranteed, according to legal terms, so that, if possible and when necessary, it may be used in their relationships with public power, according to the laws in force.

Education is free of charge, with the exception of the cases stipulated by the law.

Learning institutions, including the private ones, shall carry on their activity according to the law.

University Autonomy is guaranteed.

The state supports education through scholarships to be granted through contests alone. Furthermore, the state shall see to the equipment of institutions in its educational network.

Education for the handicapped shall enjoy special protection, which is secured according to the law.

The state guarantees freedom of religious education, according to the specific requirements of each denomination. Religious education in state-run schools is optional.

12. Citizens are guaranteed free access to information of any kind, according to the law.

The state's mass media, with the exception of the governmental ones, are independent from public administration.

The state may in no way censor the activity of the mass media, of political parties, of social bodies or of private individuals.

The radio, the television and the other audio-visual mass media must contribute to their social and cultural mission.

The right to information shall not impeach upon measures to protect young people, nor shall it infringe upon the citizens' honor.

13. The right to elect and the right to be elected are guaranteed .

The vote is universal, equal, secret and freely expressed.

Romanian citizens who have attained to the age of 18 years on the day of the elections have the right to vote.

Mentally disabled or mentally retarded people, as well as people who have lost their election rights under a definitive legal sentence do not have the right to vote.

Romanian citizens with the right to vote and residing in Romania, with the exception of those who, according to the law, may not be members of political parties, have the right to be elected.

To be eligible to the Assembly of Deputies, to local councils or to the Mayor's Office, the candidates should have attained to the age of at least 23 years on the day of the elections.

Candidates for the Senate or for the Office of President of Romania, should have attained to the age of at least 35 years on the day of the elections.

The election law regulates the terms for the designation of candidates, the organization and unfolding of elections, as well as the counting of the votes.

14. Assemblies of any kind, meetings, processions and demonstrations are free.

They may proceed peacefully, without weapons.

Meetings and demonstrations in squares, public roads and other open-air places may be restricted by the law for reasons having to do with public order.

15. Romanian citizens have the right to associate with each other freely, according to the laws regulating the exercise of this right, in political parties, trade unions and any other forms of assembly.

The mere exercise of the right to association does not imply the right to create juristic entities. The modalities to create juristic entities are stipulated by the law.

The creation of political parties is free. The parties which, through their aims or activity, militate against political pluralism constitutional order or the state's integrity and independence, as well as those created on ethnic, religious or linguistic criteria alone are non-constitutional. The constitutional council is the sole competent body to make a decision is this respect.

Variant of para 3

The grounds for unconstitutionality should be dropped for the parties "set up exclusively on ethnic, religious or linguistic criteria".

Active members of the Armed Forces, magistrates, diplomats, the police corps, the personnel of the state radio-television and such other civil servants as the law may stipulate cannot be members of political parties.

16. Freedom to choose one's profession and work place is ensured to the citizens.

The law shall establish the minimum salary for the economy, unemployment benefits, security measures, labor safety and hygiene measures, and specific rules to protect working women and youths. Furthermore, the exercise of one's profession can be established by the law or on the strength of one law.

A work day cannot extend for more than eight hours, unless otherwise agreed by contract.

Forced labor is banned.

The following are not considered forced labor:
a) work currently demanded from a person in prison or at a time when the person is conditionally at large;
b) any military job, or another job instead of the compulsory military service for the people who will not do their military service;
c) any activity required in time of natural disasters or other public threat;
d) any job or activity that is part of the normal duties of civilians established by the law.

17. Each employee shall have a paid weekly holiday, free time during each work day, and a paid annual holiday.

The compulsory length of the weekly holiday and of the annual holiday as well as the work hours for hard or very hard conditions are set by the law.

18. Citizens are entitled to pensions, sickness benefits, social welfare, medical care in state health units, paid maternity leave, death benefits and other social security measures as the law may provide.

19. The handicapped enjoy special protection. The state warrants a national prophylactic policy as well as for the readjustment and social integration of the handicapped without affecting the rights and duties of the parents and tutors.

20. The employees, the number of which is set by the law, who work in the same unit, sub-unit or compartment, or who have the same trade or profession, have the right to strike to defend their professional interests economically and socially.

The law sets the terms for the start, call-off or end of the strike as well as the economic and social branches or fields where strikes are banned.

Strikes called by union organizations to attain political ends are banned.

21. Property of any kind, the right to inheritance, and state debts are secured. The substance and limits to these rights are set by the law.

Nobody can be expropriated unless for public use, and only after a fair price jointly agreed upon with the owner or decided in court, as the case may be, was paid.

Expropriations for public use include roads and ways, street alignment and broadening, constructions and public lighting system, damming and river regularization, city cleaning and refuse collection, national defense and projects of military interest, and other schemes set by the law that the direct interests of the state and public administration call for.

The law sets the rules for expropriation.

For projects that the law proclaims of general interest, the public authority is entitled to use the basement of any building, subject to payment of damage to the land, crops and buildings.

The refund shall be established with the owner's consent or, if he shall refuse, in court of law.

The right to ownership binds the owner to observe the duties as to environmental protection, good neighborliness, payment of taxes and other duties incumbent upon him according to customs or laws.

No law shall sanction the measure of confiscating lawfully acquired property. Public authority is vested with producing evidence as to illicit property.

22. By both the policy of economic development of the country and the policy of social protection of citizens, the state shall secure them best conditions for a decent living, contingent upon each and everyone's contribution to the country's socio-economic progress.

The law shall establish measures for: the securing of an ecologically equilibrated environment, the development of the localities in modern urban conception, the children's sound development, a drop in the infant mortality, disease prophylaxes and treatment, fighting of epidemics.

Taxes on the citizens' incomes shall be laid only according to the law and they shall ensure a fair distribution of fiscal tasks.

23. Children and youth shall be protected by law as regards decent living and education conditions.

Discrimination of children and teen-agers, their economic and social exploitation are forbidden.

They shall not be used on works that might harm their health and moral standing or endanger their life or normal development.

Children and teen-age normal development.

Children and teen-agers younger than 14 shall not be used for paid work.

The law ensures the youth's right to education and information and the free development of their associations.

24. The family shall be based upon the spouses' freely consented marriage, upon their equality and the right and duty of the parents to ensure the children's rearing, education and instruction.

The terms of doing and undoing the marriage shall be established by law. The religious wedding shall not be compulsory and it shall be performed only after the civil wedding.

The state shall support the family through state child benefits, aids for mothers of many children or for nursing an ill or handicapped child and through other forms of social security provided for by the law.

Children born of parents not married to each other shall be equal before the law to the offsprings of the married couple.

Chapter 3: Fundamental Duties

1. Loyalty to the country is sacred. The Constitution and the country's laws are intangible.

The citizens entrusted with public functions as well the military have the duty to faithfully fulfill their obligations and, subsequently, to be sworn in according to the law.

2. The citizens have the right and duty to defend Romania.

Military service for all male Romanian citizens that have reached the age of 20 is compulsory. Citizens can be summoned for compulsory military service until they reach the age of 35.

Appropriate laws specify the military's obligations, the exceptional cases in which citizens are exempted from compulsory military service, the obligations incumbent on civilians in situations of serious risks, catastrophes or natural calamities.

3. All citizens have the duty to contribute to the state's public expenditures by taxes and fees collected in keeping with the law. Any other like service is hereby forbidden, except for those stipulated by law and only in exceptional cases.

4. As beneficiaries of the constitutional rights and liberties, the citizens shall exercise them in good faith.

Chapter 4: The People's Attorney

The Senate shall appoint, for the length of its term, one or more people's attorneys as provided for by the law.

2. [as received] The citizens who consider that their rights or interests have been prejudiced by deeds or actions of the administrative authorities, may forward petitions to the people's attorney.

The people's attorney, who is not authorized to pass judgment, shall duly notify the petition to the competent authority, with due recommendations as to the unjust deeds or actions to be prevented or amended.

3. The activity of the people's attorney is above the appeal and the common law procedures as provided for by the law.

The people's attorney performs his duties assisted by and under the supervision of one of the Senate's commissions.

4. The people's attorney shall annually submit reports to the parliament, advising on the legislative or other measures, falling within parliament's competence, for the protection of the civic rights and liberties.

Government Holds Session on Industry Restructuring

AU1312085890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2340 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/12/1990—Romania's Government met in a session, Wednesday, 12/12/1990 in the afternoon, presided [over] by Premier Petre Roman.

The proposals were submitted to debate, concerning the restructuring of the industrial activity, in view of efficiently using the country's power resources.

The proposals refer to the examination of anomalies existing in industry due to the functioning of energy-consuming inefficient industrial units, whose equipment is physically and morally worn out, or whose products do not sell.

Power Supply Problems Explained, Analyzed

AU1312165590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1613 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—Romania is facing power supply problems due both to limited domestic resources and to insufficient electricity and heat producing capacities, Mr. Simion Emilian, councillor at the electric power department said in an interview.

Coal supply, he said, is much below last year's, while natural gas quantities are under minimal levels.

Among the causes which led to that situation, Mr. Simion Emilian mentions previous intensive and irrational use of production capacities, low equipment reliability, deficient maintenance and operation of the enterprises. At the moment, the councillor underlined, coal-burning power stations are working at an average of 50 per cent of their capacity, as compared to 65-75 per cent in other countries. I must add that as a result of drought over the last few years water in storage lakes has gone 50 per cent below retention level.

Under the circumstances, with the resources and capacities available to us at the moment, we are unable to ensure the power required by industry; in fact, several industrial sections, workshops and units which are big power consumers will be stopped in winter. The activity on some building and assembly sites will also be suspended.

Mr. Simion Emilian said that in order to meet power requirements, an average 10 per cent import will add to domestic production, mainly from the USSR and Germany, and, in smaller quantities, from other countries. Import is however limited, among other things, by the shortage of high-voltage power networks.

The representative of the said department gave assurances that the power for the population, amounting to only 7-10 per cent of the whole electric power consumption, will be fully guaranteed.

Speaking about public lighting, Mr. Simion Emilian said it needed remaking and that village electrification had to be completed, since there are still over 600 settlements without electricity.

We estimate 1.2 billion lei are necessary to put back into operation electric installations which fell out of use under the dictatorship following stipulated household and public power consumption reduction, Mr. Simion Emilian said.

11th Joint Australian Economic Commission Held

AU1412092990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2116 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Canberra, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—On December 11, 12, Canberra was the venue of the eleventh session of the Governmental Joint Romanian-Australian Economic Commission. Economic cooperation was agreed on in the fields of mineral ore exploitation, oil, coal and iron extraction, electrical engineering, fine mechanical engineering, machine building, chemical and petrochemical engineering. Economic cooperation on third markets was also agreed on. The Romanian party was informed of Australia's interest in exporting to Romania coal, iron ores, bauxite, meat, wool, animal skins, cotton, equipment for the food industry, transport and telecommunications.

Defense Ministry Denies Presence of U.S. Fleet

AU1312131090 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 90 p 6

["R.P."-signed report: "The Sixth Fleet Is Not in the Adriatic"]

[Text] According to the available information, the ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet have not been observed in the Adriatic Sea—this was stated by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense following such a claim by Janez Jansa and Igor Bavcar at a recent news conference in Ljubljana.

The Slovene minister for national defense and his associate Igor Bavcar appear to have again developed the need to spread the most blatant lies and disturb the public. This time they imagined that a part of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, consisting of six ships including a helicopter carrier, has entered the Adriatic Sea. Jansa and Bavcar warned that it is possible that the Yugoslav People's Army may provoke incidents and that great powers are aware of the possible hotbeds of crisis. According to them, this is a response of foreign forces to the alleged intensified activities of the Yugoslav People's Army on our borders and toward the interior of the country.

Defense Body Proposes Banning Parties in Army

LD1312171690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—In connection with information published in some media, the press and information office of the SFRY Presidency has been authorized to issue the following statement with the aim of providing more precise information to the public:

The SFRY Presidency has been informed that the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has launched an initiative to change and amend the law on all-people's defense, which, among other things, envisages that political organizations, parties, political parties and other political associations, or their individual internal organizational forms, cannot be set up in commands, units and institutions of the SFRY Armed Forces.

Proceeding from the constitutional and legal equality of all political parties, and bearing in mind the character of military organization, the proposer of the initiative has assessed that the only acceptable solution is that all parties should be banned from all forms of organization and activity in the Armed Forces.

The initiative of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has been sent to the Federal Executive Council and will be considered within regular legal procedures.

Analysis of 'Disrespect' of Constitution Ordered

LD1312221190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2103 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government on Thursday [13 December] announced that it has charged federal organs to analyse all cases of disrespect of the federal Constitution and regulations in the republics by the end of this week.

The government said in its statement that this related to the decisions of the republics of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia to reduce regular payments to the Federal Treasury and the unilateral introduction of taxes and dues on goods from other republics.

Serbia decided to introduce special taxes on goods from Croatia and Slovenia, which have announced countermeasures.

The federal organs are also to deal with the disrespect of the decisions on reducing petrol prices in Slovenia as well as the operation of banks in the republics.

Serbs To Institutionalize Autonomy in Croatia

LD1312202390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1931 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Knin, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—Serbs in Croatia will adopt a statute of the Serbian autonomous region—which will include all the territories where Serbs are a majority population—before the Republic of Croatia adopts a new constitution, as Milan Babic, mayor of Knin, the centre of Serbian resistance to the new Croatian authorities, told a news conference today.

Babic said that the statute would be "valid only in case of a federal order in Yugoslavia."

The Serbs in Croatia—dissatisfied with how they are treated by the new Croatian authorities which took over power after the Croatian Democratic Union defeated the communists in last spring's elections—had initially said that they would seek autonomy only if Yugoslavia was to become a confederation.

The new constitution of Croatia, a republic which calls for a confederation, is aimed at ensuring the republic's greater autonommy from the federal centre.

The proclamation of the new Croatian constitution has been envisaged for December 22.

Babic has announced that the Serbian National Council (an informal Serbian parliament in Croatia) and the Union of Municipalities of Northern Dalmatia and Lika (a region in Croatia where the majority population is Serbian) last night adopted a preliminary draft for the statute of the Serbian autonomous region, headquartered in Knin.

According to the preliminary draft, the organs of the Serbian autonomous region will carry out judicial and

internal affairs functions independently of the Croatian state. The document allows the Croatian authorities to control the constitutionality and legality of the acts of the Serbian autonomous region only through the constitutional court, which will be established under a new republican constitution.

A group of ten Croatian intellectuals today issued an appeal to the Yugoslav and world public to help the Croats, who—according to the appeal—are endangered in those areas of Croatia where they are the minority population in relation to Serbs.

In the appeal, issued to mark the Human Rights Day, the ten intellectuals claim that Croats are moving away from these areas, since their "rights to security, freedom and even life itself are threatened". The appeal goes on to say that these Croats should be "convinced that they are not abandoned and left at the mercy of militant arms".

The Croatian authorities had planned to collect weapons in the possession of reserve police units in the areas with the majority Serb population, but Serbs opposed this, seeing it as a confirmation that repressive measures were being prepared against them.

Slovene Defense Ministry on Service Changes

AU1312122190 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 90 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Statement of the Secretariat of National Defense of Slovenia"]

[Text] Ljubljana—On Monday, the Secretariat for National Defense of Slovenia issued the following statement: "Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, on 23 November 1990 informed Lojze Peterle, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, that the army-territorial organs in Slovenia will assume certain jobs concerning the military service. On the same day the Secretariat for National Defense was informed that at 0800 on 10 December the representatives of the General Staff would be assuming control over the documents concerning recruitment. According to a letter from the chief of the General Staff, all necessary security measures had been carried out to prevent a possible attempt by unauthorized persons to appropriate the documents (according to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, the arrangements concerning Army recruitment are in the republic's sphere of competence, while the actual military service is in the republic's sphere of competence and according to the federal law on military service). At the same time we have been conducting talks with the federal organs aimed at resolving the problem through an agreement. Therefore, no request was made today for handing over these documents," Jansa's ministry states.

Slovene Defense Chief Views Plebescite Problems

LD1312182690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—How the current federal Army would react to the outcome of the plebiscite is the first problem, i.e. dilemma, regarding the defense aspect of the Slovene independence process. Janez Jansa, Slovene secretary for national defense, stated this at a press conference today.

According to Jansa, military circles have recently issued several assurances that the outcome of the plebiscite will be a legitimate decision to be respected by everyone. However, they also stated that Slovenia cannot on its own decide on the manner in which it will secede from Yugoslavia, if it decides to do so.

The next group of problems, analyzed by the government in a report prepared for the Slovene Assembly, is—accoridng to Jansa—how to reach an agreement on the withdrawal of the federal Army, that is, its transformation into a confederal army, if a confederal treaty is signed.

The third group of problems which Slovenia needs to tackle on its road to independence is the division of the federal assets stationed on Slovene territory. This refers, above all, to the division of the armament and military equipment. Here we should proceed from the basic principle, Jansa said, that the division is conducted in accordance with individual republic's contributions to the federal budget earmarked for Army needs.

Commenting on "yesterday's decision of the SFRY presidency to ban the formation of political parties in the army," Jansa noted that the media misinterpreted this as complete deploitization. What is involved here is in fact de-partization [deparizaci ja], which is also a big step forward, but, he claimed, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia role in the Yugoslav People's Army will be taken over by the newly-formed League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia.

Between two options—full Slovene independence and a confederation of independent states—Jansa asserted that the latter is unrealistic, because completely incompatible political systems are in power in different federal units. The elections in Serbia and Montenegro just confirm this point.

Asked by mostly foreign journalists about "unusual Army activities," Jansa said that they did occur, despite the federal Presidency's denials. He cited the example of special army units being moved into Slovenia, a higher degree of combat readiness, etc. These extraordinary activities have now been scaled down, so tensions have eased, Janez Jansa said, assessing that similar pressures will not be exerted before the plebiscite, although this cannot be precluded.

Opposition Says Demos Fears 'Economic Disaster'

AU1312204490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Dr. Joze Pucnik, leader of Demos [United Opposition] and of the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, said that after the new republican constitution is adopted, he will advocate new parliamentary elections be held as soon as possible, so people can elect Reformists, Liberal Democrats, or Socialists, who, once in power, will find it no easier nor would they do things in a better way. Representatives of three opposition parties, Janez Kopac, Joze Osterman, and Emil Milan Pintar commented this statement of Pucnik's for our listeners, saying that the Demos leader has finally come to a knowledge that disappointed him. Here is a report by Relja Atanasijevic:

[Atanasijevic] The creation of an ideological single-mindedness and an almost military discipline in Demos on one side, conflicts between Prime Minister Peterle and Pucnik on the other, as well as cracks within the ruling parties themselves, have led to an abnormally grave economic situation in Slovenia.

Liberal Democrat Kopac told us that the republican government, having no plan or program, had to face inevitable consequences. Socialist Osterman added that the Slovene Executive Council has no knowledge of the method of rule, so it is led by [word indistinct] and is creating a national euphoria, while fearing an economic disaster and the discontent of the broader strata of citizens who fear for their existence, because they can see a series of bankruptcies and mass lay-offs looming before them. It is clear to everybody in Demos, Reformist Pintar says, that the ideology of single-mindedness and a poor practice are revealing a very grave reality.

The government had demanded a consensus of all parties about the plebiscite and has gotten it, Osterman says, and adds that Demos are afraid of the consequences that the independence of the republic may bring. He also added that Demos people desire a reconstruction of the parliament and the formation of the national salvation government. Such a government would be possible, Pintar says, only if there is suddenly a strong pressure against Slovenia or in the case the republican economy collapses.

Let us recall that in the past Joze Pucnik said on several occasions that the ruling parties within Demos will remain homogeneous and united until their aims are reached. However, a state of restlessness can be felt in these parties. They are striving toward having their own recognizable image and a more independent activity, because they do not want to fade out within the amorphous rightist conglomerate of the coalition.

A more radical attempt in this direction made within the Social Democratic Party has ended with seven party leaders being expelled, including party vice president, Andrej Magajna, the man who wished to turn the party's helm toward the waters left of center.

Finally, one should mention the realistic assumption that Pucnik is feeling that the mood of the Slovene masses, who are becoming increasingly poorer, is changing and that the ruling coalition can lose the next elections. Therefore, he says in a disillusioned tone: Let the people elect the Reformists, Liberal Democrats, or Socialists, who will find it no easier. A successful rule is a great art.

Slovene Assembly Group Holds Talks in Montenegro

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[Excerpts] Titograd, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—Dragan Radonjic, president of the Montenegrin Assembly, Ivan Brajovic, assembly vice president, and Radovan Damjanovic, president of the Chamber of Municipalities, today received a delegation of the Slovene Assembly about the forthcoming plebiscite in Slovenia. The meeting lasted for just as long as was necessary for "both sides" to present their main political stands on the plebiscite and the future political relations in the country.

The briefness of the meeting was probably influenced by the fact that the Slovene visit occurred immediately after the multiparty elections and the de facto change of power in Montenegro [as received]. The fact that two sides hold greatly different political views about the future of Yugoslavia almost certainly determined the character of the talks. Both sides noted the differences but refuse to discuss them because, at the Slovene Assembly's recommendation, the talks were informative in their nature.

A representative of the Slovene delegation, Assembly Vice President Vitodrag Pukl, noted that both republics are united in the view that the constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia must be resolved peacefully and in a democratic manner. If we agree on this, then we can discuss anything else, Pukl said. [passage omitted]

Asked by journalists whether the elections in Serbia and Montenegro will facilitate or hamper political negotiations between Yugoslav republics, a member of the Slovene delegation, Mile Setinc, voiced the view that the outcome of the elections will hamper negotiations, as he put it, because, above all, of the intransigent stand in favor of a federation in these republics.

Serbian Opposition Issues Demands on Polling

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[Text] Belgrade, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—In the course of its preparations for the second electoral round on 23 December, the United Serbian Opposition today sent a demand to the republican Electoral Commission that it should be enabled to appoint its representatives to all constitutencies and polling stations.

The letter of the opposition coalition's representative, lawyer Milenko radio, also demand that the republican Electoral Commission inform all constituencies and all polling stations that party representatives are members of the [electoral] boards and commissions, not observers, and ensure that these members are reimbursed in line with the relevant regulations.

The republican Electoral Commission, the letter continues, must inform the electoral commissions and voting boards that the opposition will not accept reports that have not been endorsed by its representatives, and a copy of the report must be handed in as soon as it has been signed. Reports on voting which are not filled according with the instructions will not be signed, nor will those in which it is impossible to deduce how many ballots have been received, how many of them used, and where the rest are. The republican Electoral Commission, the opposition's letter warns, should inform the voting boards that voting with no personal identification or passport is irregular, and also inform the organs for internal affairs that they cannot keep constant presence in the vicinity of polling stations except in case of intervention.

The coalition also warns that voting outside the polling stations (in hospitals and army barracks) may only be carried out in the presence of party representatives. The republican Electoral Commission is also required to produce evidence on how many ballots have been printed and distributed and, following the elections, how many ballots have been used. Finally, the opposition coalition expects the republican Electoral Commission to get involved in reaching an agreement with the media, which are dutybound, as it is said, to give coverage to the promotion of the opposition's candidates.

At the same time the United Serbian Opposition today addressed Belgrade Radio and TV with its demand that representatives of "both parties" meet and agree on the way of promoting the opposition candidates up to 23 December.

Macedonian Assembly on 'Severe Economic Situation'

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[Excerpt] Skoplje, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The delegates of all the chambers of Macedonia's Assembly today gave full support to the republican executive council in solving the problems that have accumulated due to the republic's severe economic situation. They made it clear that as early as within the next few days the Socialist Republic of Macedonia will face a total blockade in economic and social life if this republic continues, under current circumstances, to regularly meet its obligations to the federal budget.

This is why the proposals were accepted that Macedonia should not contribute its proportional part of basic turnover tax to the federation. Equally, import taxes and other duties will be directed to the republic's budget rather than to the federation's. An exception was made regarding the funds from the basic turnover tax allocated for financing the Yugoslav People's Army, to which Macedonia will continue to contribute regularly.

The decisions made by certain republics (Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia) not to heed federal legislation were met with negative assessments, since they render the federation unable to meet its obligations to its federal units. [passage omitted]